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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

A PRELIMINARY EXPLORATION OF THE MEN'S MOVEMENT: DEMOGRAPHICS AND MOTIVATING FACTORS

©

by

Lorraine H. Bray

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Education.
in
Counselling Psychology

Department of Educational Psychology
Edmonton, Alberta
Fall 1992

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FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

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Dedicated to

Jonathan, Jessica, Rachael, and Jordan

Abstract

This study is a preliminary exploration of the men's movement examining the characteristics of men who become involved in the movement and the reasons they become involved. A questionnaire was created for the purposes of this research and was completed by a sample of two men's groups (130 men) in Seattle, Washington. The groups meet on a monthly basis and use rituals, drumming, myths, and personal stories as a means of communicating and expressing emotion.

An average demographic profile based on the calculation of frequencies indicates that most of the men are middle-aged, have university or college educations, work in a professional capacity in a traditional male occupation on a full-time basis. The majority of the respondents are classified in the middle to upper-middle range regarding economic status. Nearly all are heterosexual males and approximately one third of the sample reports being married, one third separated or divorced, and one third single. More than half report being in stable intimate relationships. Approximately two thirds of the men studied report no alcohol or drug overuse.

Ninety-five percent of the respondents indicate that expressing anger at the women's movement is not a reason for their participation in the men's movement. It is, however, of primary importance that their group provide an opportunity for them to develop meaningful relationships with other men. In order to foster the development of in-depth relationships, the group must be conducted in such a way as to provide an emotionally safe environment within which the individual can feel connected with his inner self. For the respondents in this study, connectedness with inner self and emotional development involve reclaiming masculinity in a balanced way. Data reveal that a balanced approach to reclaiming masculinity includes appreciating qualities of fierceness and intensity as well as qualities of caring and sensitivity.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction to the Study

Overview

The Western world watched as women gathered into consciousness-raising groups and public demonstrations in the 1960s to protest society's stereotyped view of women. Simone de Beauvoir (1952) wrote in the introduction to her acclaimed book *The Second Sex,* "Man can think of himself without woman. She cannot think of herself without man" (Benda 1946; cited in Beauvoir, p. xix). She also wrote that "A man would never get the notion of writing a book on the peculiar situation of the human male" (p. xix).

Her prediction has proven to be false. Men are writing prolifically about the "peculiar situation of the human male." Almost as a challenge to de Beauvoir's remark that "man can think of himself without woman," Keen (1991) opened his book *Fire in the Belly-On Being a Man* with a discussion about man's unconscious bondage to woman and argued that men cannot find themselves without first separating from the world of women. Not only are they writing but they are also gathering in groups reminiscent of the gatherings of women during the formative years of the feminist movement. According to the publisher of an American men's newspaper, *Wingspan*, distribution increases at an average rate of two new men's groups forming per day. What has happened in the hearts and minds of men to summon them to these groups? What are the characteristics of the men attending these gatherings? Are these gatherings of men a backlash to the feminist movement and an effort to hinder its progress, or are they an effort to explore genuine men's issues?

Balswick (1988) responded to the last question when he stated, "I discovered that femininity and masculinity are as two sides to the same coin. Just as one cannot be defined without the other, one cannot be redefined without the other" (preface). Robert Bly (1990) expanded on this thought when he explained that his writing does not "seek to turn men against women, nor to return men to the domineering mode that has led to repression of women and their values for centuries. . . . The two movements are related to each other, but each moves on a separate timetable" (preface). Earlier writers such as Pleck and Pleck (1980), Franklin (1984), and Kimmel (1987) also acknowledged that changes for one sex require and contribute to changes for the other. They added, however, that the men's movement is responding not only to feminism but also to many long-standing issues in the male role that are unconnected with women.

As men have attempted to deal with these long-standing issues, the movement has grown in a number of "differing directions which have been characterized by sporadic growth and instability" (Williamson, 1985, p. 308). There is no unilateral men's movement in North America. The four most commonly acknowleged streams are the profeminists, divorce reform activists, the mythopoetics, and the antifeminists or the no-guilt stream, with the critical differentiating factor being whether or not the women's movement is supported. Member's responses to changing women's roles have generally been one of the following: pro men, with little or no interest in women's issues or rights; or promen/profeminist, with emphasis on gender egalitarianism (Astrachan, 1986; Erkel, 1990; Franklin, 1988; Williamson, 1985).

Although the very first activities of the men's movement did not begin with feminist issues, it is, in part, a by-product of the women's movement (Astrachan, 1986). Participating in the activities of any one of the streams previously identified will find the individual struggling with women's rights as well as a plethora of issues specific to men. The issues specific to men become increasingly evident when the literary themes are explored in the Literature Review chapter of this document.

Significance of the Study

Examining themes in the relevant literature illuminates which issues have become important to the men attending these groups and gatherings, but the two questions posited earlier remain unanswered. What are the characteristics of the men attending these groups? What motivates men to become involved in a men's group? It is the aim of this study to answer these two questions.

The second question, which addresses the motivating factors, is a compelling one. Profeminist men called for consciousness raising in the 1970s as the generator of behavioral change, but in two decades their call has touched the lives of only a few thousands (Astachan, 1986). It is the mythopoetic stream, which is the newcomer to the scene, that has created new energy and is drawing larger and larger numbers of men and gaining frequent media attention (Moyers & Bly, 1990). Astrachan (1986) suggested that the men's movement has lacked a common passion for change as well as the passion of the women's movement because it began in the 1970s when the era of passionate intensity had already dissipated. Lack of common purpose and timing have not changed, so the question remains as to what summons these men in the 1990s? Smalley and Trent (1988) might argue that the concept being used by the mythopoetic stream is the powerful communication method of 'extended metaphors' or 'figurative language' which is "as old as ancient kings but is so timeless that it has been used throughout the ages in every society" (p. 9). They credit the use of metaphor as being capable of simultaneously engaging a person's thoughts and feelings, moving the individual to deeper levels of intimacy, and making a lasting impression by clarifying and intensifying what the speaker wants to communicate. One could also speculate that the mythopoetic stream offers a middle-of-the-road position which is not as extreme as the profeminists in naming men as the ultimate oppressors, or as the no-guilt stream which denies the difference in power between men and women (Astrachan, 1986;

Williamson, 1985). These hypotheses are critically examined in the context of the responses provided by the men who attended the men's gathering and completed the research survey.

In the past, those who attended the larger profeminist national conferences were noted to be mainly from the helping professions such as counsellors, therapists, social workers, psychologists, and teachers, many of whom were employed on a part-time basis and few of them from leading universities. It was the small consciousness-raising groups in the profeminist stream that attracted "successful" men such as doctors, lawyers, and businessmen with annual incomes at the higher end of the scale. This same income bracket of men, who were usually better educated and had the money and time to lobby for changes, was the backbone of the divorce reform stream as well (Astrachan, 1986). Has the trend changed? Is the mythopoetic stream attracting a broader cross section of men? Does the men's movement attract participants from across the various cultures and races, or is it primarily a white male enterprise? The research survey addresses these demographic concerns as well.

Purpose of the Study

In this study the author utilized the dominant literary themes on men's issues from the past decade to survey a population of men who indicated an active interest in the men's movement. An analysis of the responses revealed trends of developing attitudes and life style changes considered desirable by individuals directly involved in the movement. The following categories were surveyed (Astrachan, 1986; Sanford & Lough, 1988; Baumli, 1985; Keen, 1991):

1. Work
    a. Sense of self determined by success and achievement
    b. Excessive competitiveness and aggressiveness
2. Emotions
    a. Detachment from self
    b. Emotional inexpressiveness
    c. Deteriorating mental and physical health
3. Relationships
    a. Intimacy with women
    b. Intimacy with children
    c. Men and their sexuality
    d. Male dominance in relationships
4. Family of origin
    a. Father-son relationships
    b. Mother-son relationships
5. Adherence to rigid definitions of masculinity
    a. Reclaiming masculinity as positive
    b. Masculinity defined as not being feminine
6. Friendship with other men
    a. Men relating to men
    b. The need for male initiation
    c. Men seeking mentors
    d. Men being mentors
7. Spirituality
8. Substance abuse

The author through her questionnaire also ascertained whether there were any significant demographic trends among the men surveyed. Trends were examined in the following categories:

1. degree of involvement in the men's movement
2. occupation and economic status
3. educational standing
4. cultural heritage
5. age
6. marital status and level of satisfaction in the partnership
7. parental status
8. sexual preference
9. alcohol and drug use
10. spiritual mindedness

Participation in other streams of the men's movement, other than the representative stream surveyed, were also determined. Survey questions also inquired about personal and relational issues, and the impelling reasons for exploring men's issues.

Although the gay rights activists and the men and addictions streams raise significant questions which challenge men and their relationships, they are tangential to issues of gender and for the purposes of this research were regarded as discrete areas of study.

This study is descriptive-exploratory (Babbie, 1973) in design, and therefore primarily concerned with reporting the situation as it presents itself. In order to accomplish this a questionnaire was designed. The questionnaire is divided into five sections. The first section, which consists of 16 questions, was designed to examine demographic concerns in order to create a profile of the men who attend conferences focusing on men's issues. The responses in this section answer the question 'What are the characteristics of men who become involved in men's issues?' Through seven questions, the second section is designed to determine each man's past and present involvement in the movement. In the third section, 36 probing statements are presented in order to examine relevant personal and relational issues in the men's lives; and through 32 additional statements, the fourth section is constructed to explore possible personal reasons for the respondents' involvement in men's issues. Responses to sections three and four were recorded on a Likert-type scale. Through the responses in sections three and four, the author intended to answer the question 'What motivates men to become involved?' The substance for these sections was garnered from recurrent themes in the relevant literature. The last part of the survey, section five, poses two comprehensive questions which allow for qualitative writing.

The questionnaire was used to survey two groups of men who met on a monthly basis. Their participation in this research project was on a volunteer basis and participants' identities remained anonymous. Participant's responses in the 'demographic' section and the 'past and present involvement' section are used to determine whether the movement is attracting a cross section of the population, a group of unemployed men with 'time on their hands' or a segment of society classified as helping professionals. The responses to the probes which identify personal issues and reasons for attendance at the monthly meetings, are used to predict an emphasis on particular aspects of male psychology which may have implications for counselling men and their families.

Overview of the Thesis

In Chapter One the author introduces the topic under study, provides some background information on the topic to make understandable the significance of the study, its intended purpose, and the chosen method of carrying out the research.

In Chapter Two the author reviews literature and media presentations from 1980 to the present in the area of men's issues.

In Chapter Three the research design and methodology are presented as well as the development of the research instrument and the procedures used for data collection. This chapter also addresses the generalizability and limitations of the study.

Chapter Four is primarily concerned with the research findings and the results of those findings.

A discussion and summary of the findings are dealt with in Chapter Five.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

The Emergence of the Men's Movement

Introduction

To my knowledge, published quantitative research on the men's movement is nonexistent. What does exist are anecdotal accounts, phenomonological perspectives, and casual observations made by individuals who have attended conferences and participated in men's consciousness-raising groups or ritual groups (Astrachan, 1986). There are a number of possible reasons for this void in the available literature. A generally low-profile men's movement became active and publicly visible only within the last decade (Moyers & Bly, 1990). Part A of the literature review quotes authors and critics who have examined the emergence of the movement. It is necessary for the reader to become familiar with the various streams and their biases in order to grasp how the history behind this new surge of energy is influencing the movement. According to Astrachan two additional contributing factors for the lack of documented research are (a) the absence of a common purpose within the men's movement and therefore an absence of a cohesive unit to be researched, and (b) the resistance to forming power hierarchies within certain groups of men. Over the years, particularly during the leftist movement, there was a very strong resistance to quantifying and categorizing. There simply would not have been any cooperation toward researchers asking demographic questions because they would have been viewed as contributing to the establishment of a power hierarchy.

In Part B of the literature review, the author has attempted to provide the reader with an "umbrella" view of the issues within the men's movement by quoting significant authors who have written about these issues and by citing research applicable to each issue.

Antecedents of the Men's Movement

It is a common misconception that the men's movement began at the same time as did the women's movement. Williamson (1985) suggested that men gathered as early as the first part of this century, neglecting to formerly record their activities. However, the misconception persisted because feminist men, who trace their roots to the women's movement, have been well published, while the nonfeminist men's movement received very little media exposure in its early years.

According to Williamson (1985), the earliest documented group was the United States Divorce Reform. This group, which was originally named as the Divorce Racket Busters, was founded in Sacramento, California, in 1960; it consisted of men who felt victimized by the court system and their ex-wives. Its first major project was to try to move divorce proceedings out of the judicial system, which was viewed as adversarial, and into 'family arbitration centers.' Since divorce was fairly uncommon at that time, this group of men addressed very specific concerns which could not be said to represent the concerns of the average man.

The Emergence of Profeminist Men

It can be understood, then, that the proliferation of books and articles about men and masculinity which were published concurrently with the feminist movement in the 1970s did not mark the first time that men had gathered with a common interest. Astrachan (1986), Franklin (1988), and Pleck & Pleck (1980) named the start of the men's movement as associated with two events initiated by the profeminists in 1970: the opening of the Berkeley Men's Center in Berkeley, California, and the publication of Sawyer's (1970) article "On Male Liberation" in *Liberation* Magazine. The Berkeley

Men's Center Manifesto (Franklin), which was written at about the same time, is considered to be a significant classical statement representative of the profeminist men's position on issues of sexism and equality (Appendix A). Sawyer's article and the Manifesto both named a male-dominated, individualistic society which tolerated men's domination of women in social relations and men's domination of other men in the workplace as a product of sex-role stereotyping. Liberation, to the profeminists, meant destroying these stereotypes.

The profeminists recognized that "women have been oppressed by men; that men have gained privilege from this oppression; that men have reaped numerous disadvantages from patriarchy; and that society as a whole has suffered greatly from sex and gender inequality" (Franklin, 1988, p. 16). They also advocated a male-positive, pro-feminist, and gay-affirmative perspective, with membership open to men and women. Organized at a national level in the United States, the movement united men who had been isolated in their support of women's causes in the past and provided an environment where men could raise some issues of their own, share emotionally, and develop male bonding. Traditional masculinity was acknowleged as having many positive characteristics, but there is also a willingness to address such negatives as domestic violence, homophobia, and oppression because of race, class, or any discrimination of people echoing the process of sexism. Some of their most tangible achievements were the launching of academic studies, commonly referred to as Men's Studies, into American universities, the establishment of the Men's Center in Berkeley, and a proliferation of books and articles about men and masculinity (Astrachan, 1986; Franklin, 1988; Pleck & Pleck, 1980; Williamson, 1985).

According to Astrachan (1986), Franklin (1988), Pleck & Pleck (1980), and Williamson (1985), this stream of the men's movement developed its membership base through the National Organization for Men Against Sexism (formerly the National Organization for Changing Men). It was launched in 1983 and finds its roots in the participants of the Men & Masculinity conferences which have been held annually since 1974. Astrachan was critical of some of the developing attitudes and positions of the profeminist movement which he had observed during his participation in the Men & Masculinity conferences. He contended that the conferences failed to focus on the difficulties in relationships between men and women and the confusing issue of androgyny. He observed an obsession with the "evils of the work ethic" (p. 301) which denies men the satisfaction of developing skills and healthful kinds of competition. He disagreed with the commonly held view that because some powerful men have become oppressive, then all men must avoid power structures and power processes. He also observed that profeminist men tend to deny anger at women in their own lives and guilt about their complicity in creating a gender imbalance, both of which make it harder for men to feel love for women.

Williamson (1985) claimed that despite their numerous achievements, profeminist men have failed to develop a cohesive organization and clear spokesmen for their movement because they reject the idea of male power positions, which in turn creates a loose informal collective. He further contended that their view of men as the oppressor of women and as the oppressor of other men in less powerful positions limits the organization's appeal to the population at large.

The Creation of a Men's Studies Discipline

Franklin (1988) noted that although the population at large remains passive regarding the profeminist stream of the men's movement, academics interested in Men's Studies, particularly the profeminists, have been steadily building a complementary area to Women's Studies since the 1960s. Men's Studies, however, did not gain legitimacy as an academic discipline prior to the 1980s. It was not until 1984 when the inaugural issue of the Men's Studies Newsletter was published and the University of Southern California added a men's curriculum to its program of studies that the study of masculinities and male experiences was given any legitimacy. As Brod (1986; cited in Franklin, 1988) suggested, the field of Men's Studies is "at the point where Women's Studies was two decades ago. It's just beginning" (p. 8). Petzke (1986; cited in Franklin) reported that in 1986 approximately 200 American campuses offered courses in Men's Studies. Presently, the organizers of Men's Studies hold annual national conferences calling for academic presentations and papers and also publish a sophisticated quarterly journal which tracks research, reviews books, has a regular feature on teaching Men's Studies, and also keeps current a Men's Studies bibliography.

As would be expected, the formation of a Men's Studies discipline has generated some questions as to its direction and intent. Franklin (1988) outlined the concerns as follows:

1. What "perspectives should characterize Men's Studies?" (p. 15). For some scholars this means supporting a profeminist stance which would support feminism. Other scholars maintain a strictly anti-feminist perspective advocating that women benefit from men being cast in the traditional male sex role, that men are exploited by the consumeristic female sex role, and that men are at a disadvantage to women because of the dysfunctional consequences of the male sex role.

2. Is Men's Studies a "threat to Women's Studies?" (p. 16) Some academics involved in Women's Studies contend that Men's Studies is an attempt by men to co-opt Women's Studies.

3. What will be the "dynamics of sexual preference in Men's Studies?" (p.17). Some heterosexual men oppose the gay- affirmative stance advocated by the parent organization (National Organization for Men Against Sexism) of Men's Studies.

4. What will be the "dynamics of race in Men's Studies?"

(p. 18). The integration of men's issues from minority groups with men's issues from the mainstream is a particularly difficult problem. Men's Studies is primarily a white male enterprise.

An Alternative Perspective: The Divorce Reformers

After three failed efforts to form a national organization in the 1960s and the 1970s, the divorce-reformers stream of the men's movement finally formed the National Congress for Men in 1981 (Astrachan, 1986; Franklin, 1988; Williamson, 1985). Astachan notes that its energy is directed toward divorce lawyers who create or exacerbate a strained relationship between the divorcing spouses and toward settlements which ask for an amount of money for alimony and child support which seems excessive to them. He continued to say that "some men may also be outraged by the loss of male control that they expected, at least subconsciously, to find in a marriage" (p. 308). Furthermore, nobody knows how much of the child care these men were involved in while married, but their deepest grievance is with having limited access to their children. It is this "kind of passion," Astrachan stated, "that fueled the women's movement" (p. 308).

Astrachan (1986) notes that the various organizations in the divorce-reform stream have either a small core of members for lobbying purposes or many members with a continuous flow of veterans leaving as each man achieves his desired changes or adjusts to his new life style. The members look to the organization for emotional support, assistance with legal issues, and advice on coping with child raising. Needless to say, the local groups bring together a wide variety of men with differing social and economic standings, but it is the better educated men with higher incomes who can take the time and money to lobby for changes and a national organization. According to Williamson (1985), two main issues plague the divorce reformers. The first is that it is difficult to come up with a national focus when the divorce issues faced by each group vary from state to state. The second is disagreement about the main purpose of the organization. It could remain strictly a fathers'-rights group concentrating on legislative changes and court reform, or deter discrimination in the courts by educating the men to understand the totality of the issues facing them.

Although Franklin (1988) saw almost no similarities between the profeminist and the divorce reform streams, Astrachan (1986) identified five resolutions passed by the divorce reformers' National Congress for Men which, worded differently, he considered would also have been passed at a profeminist Men & Masculinity conference. These are as follows:

> Supporting of equal rights and the Equal Rights Amendment; deploring stereotyped sex roles in the media; encouraging employers to allow flextime, parental leave, job sharing, and other programs to allow working parents more time to participate in their children's lives; and encouraging both men and women to choose from a full range of behavioral options rather than gender stereotypes. (p. 312)

The many political and philosophical differences between the two streams include attitudes toward the use of power; justice for women, gays, and racial minorities; and a woman's right to abortion. It was the divorce-reformers' campaign against gay rights that prevented them from making an alliance with a third stream in the men's movement, the no-guilt or anti-feminist stream (Astrachan, 1986; Franklin, 1988).

Resistance to Profeminism: The No-Guilt Stream

Astrachan (1986) and Franklin (1988) agreed that the no-guilt stream denies that a difference in power exists between men and women. They also both agreed that when members of this stream consider owning any feelings of guilt about the power difference, the members view it as an act of self-hate; and when these same members express their anger, they tend to sound anti-feminist and sometimes anti-female. Williamson (1985) disagreed with Astrachan and Franklin and suggested that when the membership "has proceeded to criticize women, and express its anger against the way men are affected by sexism, the feminist men's leadership has interpreted this as woman-hating and anti-feminist" (p. 321). Williamson explained that a main tenet of the no-guilt stream is that the membership cannot accept the theory of the male as the oppressor. Members appear willing to examine "the problems of male role behavior" but are also "critical of women and the role they play in helping shape the way both sexes contribute to their stereotypes" (p. 321). He speculated that the no-guilt stream is deeply resented by the "more vocal feminist men's leaders" (p. 320) but is accepted by the divorce reformers.

There are two main organizations which fall into the no-guilt stream of the men's movement: the Coalition of Free Men and its political prototype, Men's Rights, Inc. Their philosophies are based on the learned-behavior model and the concept that the sexes are interrelated by historically acting out complementary roles (Williamson, 1985). Men's Rights states its philosophy as "fostering the understanding that the provider and the protector roles have dehumanized, damaged, and limited men in ways as serious and pervasive as the reproducer (sex object) and child socializer (housewife) roles have done to women" (Franklin, 1988, p. 71). Williamson (1985) stated that, for the most part, the Coalition of Free Men is "a purely educational body . . . which neither accepts the notion that sociobiology is the major determination of role behavior, nor endorses scapegoating -- where men are deemed to be the sole group responsible for everyone else's problem" (p. 322). The philosophy of the no-guilt stream has been significantly guided by the writings of Herb Goldberg (1976, 1979, 1983, cited in Astrachan, 1986) which Astrachan summarized as:

> Goldberg deplored the damage that traditional sex roles do to men. He also deplored male guilt at not living up to the destructive stereotypes. But he told men they had no reason to feel guilty about privilege and domination, which he called illusions. . . . He urged men to follow the feminist example, to find their energy in anger and outrage, even or especially at women. (p. 304)

Astrachan was critical of Goldberg's position, seeing it as narcissistic and concentrating on "the liberation of the self, as though that were possible without the freedom of others" (305). He predicted that the no-guilt stream will continue to win only momentary audiences which attract newcomers through their willingness to voice anger. Egley (1985; cited in Franklin, 1988) saw men's anger as a conduit for change and a guide to identify unmet personal needs. He envisioned angry men asserting their boundaries and seeking an end to the emotional violence of threats, labeling, name calling, and put-downs used by women.

The Evolution of Male Psychology: The Mythopoetics

Dealing with inner emotions is the very clear mandate of the mythopoetic stream of the men's movement. The profeminists have persistently but unsuccessfully tried to speak with a political voice to effect social changes, the divorce reformers choose to focus almost exclusively on legislating change (Astrachan, 1986), and the no-guilt stream has evolved into an educational and resource source (Williamson, 1985). In contrast, the mythopoetics concern themselves solely with masculine psychology. This change in emphasis from socio-political to psychological is a relief to some men (Keen, 1991; Meth & Pasick, 1990). Lough (Sanford & Lough, 1988) stated in his introduction:

> Almost all [the books about men] were socio-political in nature and not psychological. They explored some of the problems men have in our culture, but they did so in an extraverted way, skimming the surface rather than taking a deeper look at the inner nature of men. (p. 8)

Sanford (Sanford & Lough, 1988) commented on the prolific available writings about feminine psychology in contrast with the very few about male psychology and wondered if the implication is that "a man's psychology isn't important, or that it is so obvious it needs no explanation" (p. 3). He accepted neither explanation and contented that men are as complex as women and that "they need to understand themselves and take their psychological development seriously" (p. 3).

It was in the early 1980s that an American poet, Robert Bly, began taking male psychology seriously (Moyers & Bly, 1990). He began leading small workshops for men, using myths, fairy stories, ritual drumming, and poetry as a way to explore the confusion that men feel about their roles in society and about their inner lives as well (Liebman, 1991; Moyers & Bly, 1990). Thus originated the term mythopoetic, referring to the groups of men who use these creative tools as a way to highlight their feelings and give meaning to them (Liebman). Moyers and Bly point out that mythology, story, rituals, and poetry are being used as metaphoric teaching tools to bring to consciousness many present-day dilemmas that are challenging men. The men generally meet regularly in small ritual groups and come together as a larger group for a special event, but they are not affiliated with any national organization (Moyers & Bly; Liebman). It is their use of myth, ritual, and personal stories that perhaps requires some further explanation.

A myth is a traditional story of "unknown authorship, ostensibly with a historical basis, and serving to explain some phenomenon of nature, the origin of man, or customs, institutions, religious rites, etc. of a people. Myths usually involve the exploits of gods and heroes" (Webster's, 1979). Using myths can serve several purposes. Although the myth can be universal and impersonal, it can also emotionally touch an individual by making clear an unperceived theme or drama that is going on under the surface of their day to day living (Liebman, 1991). It can also serve to "relieve men of their sense of isolation and show them how their personal experience connects with an old-age journey they are travelling with all men" (Erkel, 1990, p. 31). Bly thought of fairy stories and myths as road maps containing time-honored wisdom which can provide insights to some of life's problems (Erkel, 1990; Moyers & Bly, 1990).

Rituals also serve as metaphors--metaphors of "interior processes" (Liebman, 1991, p. 21). A ritual is simply a set form or a system of rites (Webster's, 1979), and as Liebman observed, "Something happens in ritual that can't be put into words. The strength of ritual, its center, is ultimately sacred and mysterious. Writing about it does not contain the juice of it. Worse, it may trivialize and open it to ridicule" (p. 24). He went on to explain that a group using ritual provides a safe environment for men to explore their feelings. It is a way of expressing their deepest feelings in the presence of other men rather than only privately or to women (p. 21).

The specific details of a man's personal story can contain a general theme which raises awareness for other group members. "The group may [then] go on to note parallels between their stories and some myths and fairy tales which are thousands of years old, and which link them to a community of men over time" (Liebman, 1991, p. 16). Liebman explained that when a man participates in this inductive process, he can feel himself "living out part of the theme of maleness, and the theme living itself out in him" (p. 16). This process is not so much a search for a specific answer but fosters a sense of acceptance of oneself and belonging to a larger whole. Keen (1991) expanded on Liebman's perspective when he explained that society's view of what it means to be male is demystified "only when we tell our own story, and authorize our own life rather than accept the official view of things" (p. 34).

Criticisms of the Mythopoetics

Layton (Erkel, 1990), a family therapist, Johnston (1992), a critic for the New York Times Book Review, and Queenan (1992) a writer for a popular magazine, held similar concerns about mythopoetic men. They perceived an anti-female bias in the literature, speeches, and seminars of the mythopoetics. Layton separated Bly from other leaders as one who has accepted the positive influence of women in his life but stated that "other men running men's groups still have enormous misogyny operating within them" (p. 34). Johnston, on the other hand, singled Bly out as "emerging from ... a certain lifelong, unhealthy identification with his mother and women, to discover his estranged father." She also stated that "the backlash [misogyny] has hit women from every front, and Bly's Iron John has been its most successful literary product" (p. 29). Queenan's observations at the First International Men's Conference broadened Johnston's criticisms from Bly to the movement in general. He described participants as "drum-toting, Daddy-loathing misogynists" and named specific speakers as having a "subtle but nonetheless ferocious anti-female bias" (p. 214) in their speeches and seminars.

Brod (Erkel, 1990), Queenan (1992), and Johnston (1992) strongly criticize the theme of men as victims of women. Brod, a profeminist, felt that the father is presented as a victim within the family system who is "pushed out" (p. 32). "What is missing," Brod contended, "is any sense that more often, the father removes himself from the family to seek power and prestige elsewhere-- in the public realm" (p. 32). "The men's movement has two divergent strands," complained Queenan: "the guys that blame everything that's wrong with them on their father, and the guys who blame everything that's wrong with them on their wife" (p. 216).

Other criticisms of the mythopoetics which were mentioned less frequently are as follows:

1. Male-only gatherings could turn into a "kind of fraternity or secret society that separates the initiated men from the uninitiated men" (Cammack; cited in Erkel, 1990, p. 32) and excludes women (Johnston, 1992).

2. There is a lack of concern about the father's role in his daughter's life (Johnston, 1992).

3. Male initiation requires that women "play their traditional roles at home" and male initiation "*always* has to do with gender distinction and the devaluation of women" (Johnston, 1992, pp. 28-29).

4. Mythopoetics are a reaction to the feminist movement, and the result is a "crisis of masculine identity" (Johnston, 1992, p. 29). Men are threatened by women's freedom, feel vulnerable around women, and cannot relate to their patriarchal fathers. The mythopoetics have a prefeminist understanding of gender and are attempting to regain lost power (Johnston).

5. White men should not be viewed as an oppressed group (Johnston, 1992).

6. Mythopoetics define men and women by a given nature, fixed and unalterable, cast as opposites (Goldsmith; cited in Erkel, 1990; Johnston, 1992).

7. Mythopoetics glorify an "essentially blood-thirsting tradition" (Ehrenreich; cited in Erkel, 1990, p. 32).

8. As a group, the men are typically Caucasian, involved in a 12-step program, addicted to group therapy, and profoundly lonely or have serial failed marriages and unwholesome relationships with women (Queenan, 1992).

Psychological Themes Within the Men's Movement

Men and Their Emotions

Research on inexpressiveness. Male inexpressiveness is one of the most dominant themes presented in the literature on male psychology. Seidler (1989) explored the "rationalistic culture of masculinity" (xiv) that men inherit and concluded that reason has "shut out the more personal and individual voices of men" (p. 3). He claimed that, in an effort to fit into a societal model of masculinity, a man gives up his personal voice through the suppression of his feelings and the distortion of his feelings through intellectualizing. The final result of this process of developing one's masculinity is a sense of being estranged or detached from oneself (McGill, 1985). Erkel (1990) called it being "immobilized by the pull of collective male opinion" (p.

28), and Bly (1990) called it being "essentially numb in the chest area" (p. 67). The tendency, then, is for men to discuss emotions and not to feel them (Kimmel, 1987b) and, by doing so, to move closer to the western social prescription for being male; that is, to be a self-sufficient, independent, and impersonal individual (Seidler, 1989).

Contemporary research in this area is scant; however, Pleck (1981) cited a few studies and stated that "males are not necessarily less oriented or responsive to social stimuli than women (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974) or less adept at assessing others' emotions or cognitive perspective, but they are less empathic, that is, their feelings are less affected by the feelings of others (Hoffman, 1977)" (p. 148). Tarvis (1986) reported that men "may not talk about their hurt, but silence does not signify lack of feeling. Quite the contrary, evidence suggests that their grief may run deeper and be harder to repair than women's" (p. 30). Hurvitz's (1964; cited in Balswick, 1988) study of blue-collar families concluded that the greatest strain in a marriage is the wife's "greater desire for emotional support and sharing" (p. 11) which the husband has difficulty providing. Auerback (1970; cited in Balswick, 1988) identified the "cowboy syndrome" (p. 11), in which the man is courteous toward women but reserved in order to maintain a strong, resilient, and resourceful demeanor. Balswick's research added to these findings with the following conclusions:

1. "Males and females were found *not* to differ in interpersonal orientation" (p. 99). Expressive children came from expressive parents regardless of the child's sex.

2. Males were less expressive of love, happiness, and sadness than females. "Fathers were perceived on all measures (love, sorrow, happiness, anger - verbal and physical), except for the physical expression of anger, to be less expressive than mothers" (p. 116). This finding held over race and social class.

3. The "inability or unwillingness of males to express love, affection, warmth or tenderness . . . [contributes to] psychological dysfunction" (p. 95). Brody (1985; cited in Balswick, 1988). supported Balswick on this point. Since emotions "motivate

and regulate adaptive behavior," Brody considered them to be "primary determinants of other aspects of personality functioning". He noted that "abnormal personality functioning, or psychopathology, is often defined, at least in part, as the inability to cope with emotions" (p. 12).

4. "There is no sex difference in the expression of anger" (p. 99). Anger is "one of the few emotions males are allowed and even expected to demonstrate; . . . however, it is the mother, not the father, who is most predictive of the child's expression of anger" (p. 117). The exception is with black daughters, who will tend to "imitate the father's physical expression of anger" (p. 119).

5. "Societal expectations may affect differences in actual behavior" (p. 99). Balswick (1988) cited Osherson (1986) as saying that "many men showed confusion about the intimacy issues in their lives, particularily with wives, children, and their own parents" (p. 2). Osherson felt that men receive messages expecting them to play a dual role; to be male a man must be inexpressive; and to be a husband and father, a man must be able to share affection and companionship.

A reccurrent finding in Balswick's work is the degree to which men are dissatisfied with their inexpressiveness. He also concluded that male inexpressiveness is a "complex variable, sex-linked and situation specific, and therefore, cannot be viewed as a personality trait" (p. 141).

Theories on male inexpressiveness. "Simultaneously men as a group have been exhorted by sociologists, psychologists, historians, activists, and others to pursue life styles which can bring greater personal fulfillment, emotional expressiveness, and satisfaction" (Franklin, 1988, p. 50). The various disciplines mentioned by Franklin each have a theory attempting to explain male inexpressiveness.

In social learning theory males are viewed as not being rewarded and perhaps even being punished for displaying emotional expressiveness (Balswick, 1988; Bly, 1990; Franklin, 1988; Keen, 1991; Seidler, 1989). Sattel (1976; cited in Balswick) found that, in a sexist culture, male inexpressiveness is used as an "intentional manipulation of a situation when threats to the male position occur" (p. 19). It is the main contention of this theory that men are socialized to avoid being emotionally vulnerable in order to secure and maintain power in sexual politics, to obtain status and respect in a competitive working world, and for social approval (Farrell (1986), cited in Balswick; Keen, 1991; Pasick, Gordon, & Meth, 1990; Pleck, 1981). Maccoby and Jacklin (1974; cited in Balswick) concluded that the social learning theory is "inadequate to account for sex differences in personality traits" (p. 122).

According to psychoanalytic theory, in order for a boy to establish a male identity, it is considered necessary for him to renounce his connection with his mother in order to seek a deeper affiliation with his father and other men. The detachment that this process requires in the internal world of the boy therefore causes him to feel separated from himself and others. The result is that he builds barriers around himself and his emotional expressiveness (Bly, 1990; Chodorow, 1978 in Meth, 1990b; Erkel, 1990; Gilligan (1982), cited in Tredwell, 1987; Keen, 1991; Osherson, 1986; Rubin, 1983). Rubin stated that "men define themselves in terms of the denial of the original connection" (p. 95). Because men separate from their mothers and women do not, according to psychoanalytic theory, "compared to a man, a woman remains more preoccupied with relational issues, gives herself more easily to emotional relationships, and reaches out for attachment and emotional connection with insistence and intensity" (Rubin, 1983, p. 92). Rubin commented that cross-cultural research in this area is sparse.

In cultural-ecological theory, sex roles and levels of expressiveness are viewed as being chosen by men and women to adapt to their cultural environment. Sanday (1981; cited in Balswick, 1988) stated that "dangerous or hostile environments create an outer orientation in men, while safe, friendly environments create an inner orientation" (p. 23). She explained that certain cultures create an outer orientation in men when their work segregates them from the child rearing process and when there is an emphasis on competition. In cultures where the men and women share the work and child rearing, the result tends to be paternal closeness with infants and less emphasis on competition.

Treadwell (1987) opened the examination of sociobiology in a balanced manner when he wrote, "To consider masculinity as dependent on biologic factors is to misunderstand the basics of genetics. But to consider masculinity as a purely social construct with no physiologic basis is scientifically dangerous" (p. 259). He accused Pleck (1981) of conceiving of masculinity as a purely social construct and applauded Rossi (1979; cited in Treadwell) for her foresight when she challenged feminists to be prepared to absorb research in neuroendocrinology and brain neurochemistry over the next decade. Treadwell reported that "male and female brains differ structurally," and he urged Men's Studies to take into consideration the following research findings: "(a) testosterone levels are associated in some way with aggression; (b) men have a broad range of biologically determined testosterone levels; and (c) these levels can be enhanced or reduced by social environment" (p. 284). Rossi (1984; cited in Balswick, 1988) and Treadwell emphasized that even though there are "innate temperament-producing genetic differences between the sexes, . . . environment and genetics interpenetrate and mutually determine each other" p. 24). Biology is involved in gender differences in the following ways:

1. There are correlations between social behavior and physiological sex attributes.
2. There are gender differences in infants and young children prior to major socialization influences.
3. Differences emerge with the onset of puberty when body morphology and hormonal secretion changes rapidly.
4. Gender differences are stable across cultures.
5. There are similar gender differences across higher primate species (Rossi, 1984 as cited in Balswick, 1988, p. 25).

Sociobiology, psychoanalytic theory, and social learning theory comprised Treadwell's (1987) explaination that

> as a result of the relative doses of estrogen and testosterone, the male brain is built with a decided skew toward individual rights and responsibilities--justice. Let me call it *separation* oriented rather than masculine. The estrogen dose and low testosterone level skew the female brain toward *attachment*--caring. But each brain also contains generous doses of the other principle: the male with attachment, the female with separation. The social environment can stifle attachment in boys and separation in girls, making the melding of the two principles into a whole person much more difficult. (p. 280)

Consequences of inexpressiveness. As early as 1964, Jourard reported that appropriate expressiveness and self-disclosure are a "necessary condition for a healthy personality" (cited in Balswick, 1988, p. 2) and that men tend to have psychosomatic disorders and a shortened life span because of the stress of low self disclosure and inexpressiveness. Balswick (1988), Keen (1991), McGill (1985), and Sanford and Lough (1988) concurred with Jourard. Keen stated that "men die seven to nine years before women . . . due to the emotions, behavior, and character armor that make up the warrior psyche" (p. 42). Pleck (1981) acknowledged that "men die younger than women on the average" but cited research that would indicate that "pure biological factors account for some of this sex difference" (p. 150).

Sanford and Lough (1988) cited Lynch's (1977) "impressive array of statistics" (p. 154) from his book *The Broken Heart* that demonstrate physiological consequences for men who do not form close relationships. Balswick's (1988) research examined psychological difficulties in relationships due to inexpressiveness and reported that "the greater the expression of feelings between a couple, the greater the marital adjustment" (p. 13). Pittman (1992) also examined inexpressive men in relationships and described such men as "comfortable only when the emotional level is so low that they can't get close to anyone" with "limited, lonely and often painful lives" (p. 49). Seidler (1989) suggested that inexpressiveness can be "a form of dominance over emotions, feelings, and desires" (p. 44), and silencing emotions or "pretending not to have any needs at all is often a way of sustaining power" (p. 109).

Men in Relationships

The Cost of Holding the Dominant Position. It is generally accepted in the literature that in western society, male dominance is built into economic, political, religious, and educational institutions as well as into personal relationships (Franklin, 1988; Seidler, 1989). In this hierarchical system, men are seen as dominating women in a sexist manner, and a minority of men as dominating the masses of men in a system of intermale dominance (Sabo, 1987). In this system men are expected to keep up a "tough, fearless, unemotional hero role" (Rubin, 1983, p. 2) in order to gain a position of authority and to gain its accompanying rewards: power and status (Farrell, 1986; Franklin, 1988). However, with the emergence of women's liberation, there has been a breakdown of masculine authority, at least in some segments of society (Carrigan, Connell, & Lee, 1987). However, in contemporary society the breadwinner role continues to be linked to being masculine, and it is the required role for the economy, but "this role is not intrinsically satisfying," says Pleck (1980, p. 428). He quoted Turner's supporting statement that "the husband appears to dominate his wife and children. But as an agent of economic institutions, he perceives himself as controlled rather than as controlling" (p. 429).

In the more personal realm, psychologists Gordon and Allen (1990) described men as feeling

> more powerless than powerful; they are as frequently submissive, in the sense of suppressing their needs to please others, as they are dominant. Because men believe their masculinity requires being strong for women and because they carry an unfulfilled need for nurturing into their relationships, men are dependent on women and on their approval. Their dominant behavior is a facade. (p. 192)

Pleck (1980) concurred with Gordon and Allen and added that men maintain this facade because it is in their "rational self-interest to do so, to have the concrete benefits and priveleges that power over women provides them. Having power, it is rational to want to keep it" (p. 419), but it is generally felt that men have paid a high price for this power in their psychological development and in their personal relationships (Balswick, 1988; Brod, 1987a; Franklin, 1988; Keen, 1991; McGill, 1985; Pittman, 1992; Rutherford, 1988; Seidler, 1989). "Our quest for masculinity is expensive," stated Segal-Evans (1987); "nothing is left undamaged, not our relationships, not our friends and family, not even our own health" (p. 118). Balswick (1988) added that "men must daily do battle in an impersonal and heartless society, and they often return battered and bruised to the confines of their self contained, somewhat fragile, emotionally isolated nuclear family" (p. 196). "Inner peace, emotional expression, affection, sexual fulfillment, and physical health are areas that men frequently have little control over due to the constraints of male socialization" (Meth, 1990b, pp. 13-14). Keen (1991) suggested that there is a growing awareness of the cost:

> When the powerful begin to feel their impotence, when the masters begin to feel their captivity, we have reached a point where we are finally becoming conscious that the social system we have all conspired to create is victimizing us all (p. 206-7).

Segal-Evans (1987) summed up the dilemma: "Give up all pretense of male privelege. It is only an illusion" (p. 121).

Men and their sexuality. Sexuality as a way to prove male masculinity and dominance is a common theme in the literature (Seidler, 1989). Seidler contended that sex is "learnt in early boyhood, not as a matter of pleasuring and nourishing the body, but as an individual achievement that reflects upon the position of a man within the pecking order of masculinity" (p. 39). He also believed that male sexuality has "become tied at a deep level into the need to control both other people and particular facets of ourselves" (p. 43). This creates a situation in which men do not say how much they need and love other people but withhold themselves instead. Therefore, says Rubin (1983), "men tend to be so self-contained and protected from intrusion, except in the matter of sex"(p. 95). McGill (1985) concurred with Rubin when he said that "sex seems to be the supreme intimacy for men, [whereas] women both exhibit and expect a full range of loving behavior" (p. 31). "Sex becomes equal to, if not greater than, all public, private and personal disclosure" (p. 191). Meth (1990a) felt that a lot of pressure is put on sexual intimacy because of male stereotypical prescriptions that expressing certain emotions is feminine. Pearsall (1987, cited in Meth) stated that "the number one male sexual problem is not erective failure or ejaculatory control, but rather the male's failure to really enjoy sexual interaction with a woman" (p. 218). Keen (1991) cautioned men that

> we are able to lose ourselves in loving sexuality only to the degree that we have found the self elsewhere. . . . No matter how hard we try, we inevitably fail to discover the secret of masculinity in sex. . . . We will be disappointed if we expect to find the proof of our masculinity there. Sex may bring pleasure or joy, but not identity. (Keen, 1991, pp. 78-79)

Barriers to close relationships with women. Pleck's (1980) views are representative of many other author's thoughts on men in relationships with women. He accounted for men's needs for power over women by examining two forms of power that men perceive women as holding over them:

> The first is *expressive power*, the power to express emotions. . . . In traditional male-female relationships, men experience their emotions vicariously through women. Many men have learned to depend on women to help them express their emotions, indeed, to express their emotions for them. At an ultimate level, many men are unable to feel emotionally alive except through relationships with women. . . . A second form of power that men attribute to women is *masculinity-validating* power. In traditional masculinity, to experience oneself as masculine requires that women play their prescribed role of doing the things that make men feel masculine. (pp. 420-421)

Seidler (1989) condensed Pleck's explanation when he wrote "if we feel hurt and rejected, the only solution we know is to find a partner who will appreciate us" (p.

167). Rutherford (1988) stated the point this way: "Women are heterosexual men's achilles heel because we need her and at the same time that need challenges our masculine claim to rational superiority" (p. 52). The operative words most commonly used are that men _fear_ closeness to women and their expressive capabilities; therefore, they deny their _need_ for closeness to women and use avoidance and devaluing tactics to try to _control_ the power they feel women have (Balswick, 1988; Bly, 1990; Keen, 1991; McGill, 1985; Osherson, 1986; Pittman, 1992; Segal-Evans, 1987).

Research on men in relationships with women. Research on marital satisfaction, marital conflict, and the effects of divorce and separation is too extensive and too diverse in content to cover in the context of this thesis (Gottman, 1989; Gottman & Levenson, 1989). However, Komarovsky's (1962, 1976) research is frequently cited in the literature on the men's movement, as are Balswick's (1988) and McGill's (1985). These studies comment on men in intimate relationships and how these relationships are affected by the degree of self disclosure, the degree of inexpressiveness, and men's capacity for intimacy. The conclusions can be summarized as follows:

1. There is a strong relationship between level of marital satisfaction and level of self disclosure.
2. In happy marriages, men's self-disclosure is almost exclusively with their wives.
3. In unhappy marriages, men's self-disclosure is almost nonexistent.
4. "The greater the inequality between spouses in their expression of feelings, the less their marital adjustment" (Balswick, p.18).
5. "Differences in expression of feelings are less between men and women who hold to the modern sex role stereotypes than between men and women who hold to the traditional sex role stereotypes" (Balswick, p.18).

6. "The quality of self-disclosure in friendships outside the marriage is a significant predictor of marital satisfaction" (Balswick, p. 174).

In a recent longitudinal study by Gottman and Levenson (1989), couples were systematically observed discussing a high conflict problem at two intervals (four years apart) in their marriage. During the course of the couple's attempt at problem resolution, five physiological measures were taken. Seven nonphysiolgical measures were also administered at each interval. In the first study the results can be summarized as follows:

> Physiological arousal, particularly of the husband, predicted the longitudinal deterioration of marital satisfaction. Couples whose hearts beat faster, whose blood flowed faster, who sweated more and moved more during marital interaction or even when they were just silent but anticipating marital conflict, had marriages that deteriorated in satisfaction over the course of three years. Also, couples who were physiologically calmer had marriages that improved over time (Gottman, 1989, p. 2).

Gottman reported that the correlation between the physiological data collected and the deterioration in marital satisfaction was 0.92. In other words, using only physiological data, he could predict "with over 95% accuracy, which couples' marriages would improve and which would deteriorate in the next three years" (p. 2).

Gottman (1989) noted that the marital interaction patterns which related to the deterioration of marital satisfaction over time were when the female partner was "only agreeable and compliant" and when the husband repeatedly withdrew as a listener; a behavior termed as "stonewalling" (p. 2). According to Gottman, couples who were more likely to separate showed more of the following facial expressions and actions:

1. wife's disgust and verbalized contempt (and this was the strongest correlation in the study for predicting separation and divorce at 0.51).

2. husband's fear.

3. husband's and wife's miserable smile (raising the lip corners without eye involvement).

4. husband's stonewalling.

5. husband's and wife's defensiveness, making excuses, denying responsibility, complaining, criticizing, and disagreeing.

The results of Gottman's and Levenson's (1989) study on predicting separation or divorce were powerful and allowed an accurate prediction 90% of the time. Komarovsky (1962; cited in Balswick, 1988) writes about the challenges men experience in marital relationships:

> One of the greatest barriers to the prevailing American ideal of psychological intimacy was the husband's trained incapacity to share. The ideal of masculinity into which they were socialized, inhibits expressiveness both directly, with its emphasis on reserve, and indirectly, by identifying personal interchange with the feminine role. (p. 10)

Gottman and Levenson (1989) found an interesting result in their analysis which concurred with Balswick's (1988) finding. Balswick stated that "men who hold to the modern more than the traditional male role stereotype are more expressive in their feelings" (p. 18). Gottman and Levenson found that "men who did housework were less overwhelmed by their wive's emotions, less avoidant of conflict and had lower heart rates during marital conflict than men who did no housework" (Gottman, 1989, p. 5). In Moyers & Bly (1990) transcript, Bly wrote about a traditional male's difficulty in entering into an emotionally close relationship with a woman. He stated that a man flees the woman who is chasing him to talk to him because he "cannot turn and face her" (p. 13). He cannot face her when he does not have a clear sense of what it is to be a man; therefore, he does not have a clear idea of what he wants in a relationship. The woman knows what she wants; the man senses this and feels inadequate. Part of the problem is that men do not "mix words with feelings as well as women" and, consequently, feel a "fury" at how women go ahead of them. Men need to "go at their own pace" (p. 25) with other men.

Father-son Relationships

Osherson (1986) was not alone when he singled out the father-son relationship as the pivotal issue for men to address in the men's movement (Abbott, 1987; Bly, 1990; Erkel, 1990; Feldman, 1990; Gordon, 1990; Moore, 1987; Pittman, 1992; Pleck, 1987; O'Connor, 1990; Rubin, 1983). In Osherson's book *Finding Our Fathers,* he stated that "the psychological or physical absence of fathers from their families is one of the great underestimated tragedies of our time" (p. 6). Much of the writing on this theme is qualitative in nature, as is Osherson's (1986) book, which grew out of a longitudinal study he directed of middle-aged male Harvard graduates. Bly's (1990) writings and understandings about the men's movement have also grown out of his own personal emotional work and his contact with other men in the many workshops that he has conducted.

Deterioration of the Father-Son Relationship. Bly (Moyers & Bly, 1990) made clear reference to the impact of the Industrial Revolution on the father-son relationship. He claimed that the new requirement the revolution made for the father to work away from the home in factories left the son with "a kind of body-longing for his father" (Thompson, 1987, p. 176). Kimmel (1987a) and Sherrod (1987) also made historical references to fathers removing themselves from the home to work in factories. Kimmel pointed out that this shift was keenly felt by all family members because "the wives of the poor were becoming domestic drudges for their absent husbands rather than partners in a family workshop" (Kimmel, p. 126). Consequently, the father was working; but the family, and more specifically the son, could not see this. Since the father is the son's role model, Bly (1990) asked, "when a son does not see his father's workplace, or what he produces, does he imagine his father to be a hero, a fighter for good, a saint, or a white knight?" (p. 95). He suggested that a gap is left in the son's understanding of what it means to be a productive male, and this leaves room for negative attitudes toward the father, over-attachment to the mother, and no chance to see how men handle their emotions during their work day. However, when the father does return to the home, Bly suggested, what the family often sees is the father's "five o'clock . . . temperament" (Moyers & Bly, p. 8). This temperament is usually "irritable and remote, . . . a touchy mood, springing from powerlessness and despair mingled with longstanding shame and the numbness peculiar to those who hate their jobs" (Bly, p. 97). Osherson (1986) held a similar view and added that, consequently, "most men know little of their father's inner lives, what they thought and felt as men" (p. 15). One of the concerns Osherson and Bly had was that if a male is brought up mainly by his mother, he may take a "feminine attitude toward his father" (Thompson, p. 179) which could mean not getting an accurate picture of the father through the mother's eyes. The frequent portrayal of the father as a bumbling idiot in television comedies and comic strips was cited as one of the outcomes of the father's emotional and physical absence from the home. Bly (1990) stated his concern that "if we regard the father as insignificant, ridiculous, absurd, in the fashionably American way, we have diminished him so far that there is no longer a place for him" (p. 117).

The most commonly voiced concerns about a man growing into manhood without a connected relationship with his father were that:

1. A man who is disconnected from his father may tend to remain a boy, resisting responsibility and carrying out his adult male role in a dysfunctional way (Bly, 1990; Brittan, 1989; Erkel, 1990; Feldman, 1990; Moore, 1987). "Indeed, the common emotional struggles men bring into therapy - high degrees of stress or anxiety, depression, low self-esteem, various forms of dependency or addiction, and marital dysfunction - can be linked in significant ways to this impact" (Gordon, 1990, p. 235).

2. A man disconnected from his father may carry an inner sense of confusion about his own masculinity (Bly, 1990; O'Connor, 1990; Osherson, 1986; Pittman, 1992; Pleck, 1987; Sanford & Lough, 1988). Many of the struggles between men and

women are actually rooted in the "hidden, ongoing struggles sons have with their fathers" (Osherson, 1986, preface).

3. A man who has a cool, distant relationship with his father may tend to overconform to the stereotyped expectations of the male role and, therefore, reenact his father's emotional distancing with his own children (Balswick, 1988; Bly, 1990; Carrigan, Connell, & Lee, 1987; Gordon, 1990; Rubin, 1983). "Fathers have the authority to let boys relax the requirements of the masculine model; if our fathers accept us, then that declares us masculine enough to join the company of men" (Pittman, 1992, p. 50). "Not receiving any blessing from your father is an injury" (Bly, 1990, p. 31).

4. A man who has experienced his father as emotionally or physically absent from the family often carries distorted perceptions about his father and about his part in his father's unavailability (Abbott, 1987; Bly, 1990; Gordon, 1990).

Research on Father Involvement in Family Life. Fathers are increasingly expected to fulfill a role that is active and nurturant while continuing in their expected roles of breadwinners, being sex-role models (especially for sons), and overseeing moral teaching (Franklin, 1988). Fathers' capacity for nurturing has been found to be equal to that of a mothers', particularily with infants and toddlers (Berman (1980); cited in Franklin; Lamb (1986); cited in Franklin). As well, there is ample evidence to show that fathers play with young children even more than mothers do, but in a different way (Belsky (1979); cited in Franklin; Lamb (1977); cited in Franklin). Franklin also stated that "evidence exists suggesting that fathers become more intimately involved with their children as their children grow older" (p. 199). It can be concluded that fathers play vital roles in the gender socialization of their children (Thompson, 1986; cited in Franklin). More specifically in regard to the father-son realtionship, Franklin cited Radin (1981), who has reviewed the research in this area. Radin concluded that father involvement impacts positively on a son's academic achievement, intellectual development, and the development of social competence and responsibility. Hoffman (1981; cited in Franklin) added to this list by suggesting that fathers also "facilitate their sons' acquisition of moral values by serving as identification figures" (p. 199).

Despite the research on the positive impact of father involvement in family life, the question still remains: "Does father noninvolvement have negative effects on children's relationships with fathers, their sex-role development, their achievements and achievement motivation, their school performance, their moral development, and their psychological adjustment?" (Franklin, 1988, p. 201). Lamb, Pleck, and Levin (1986; cited in Franklin) felt that it is "misguided to believe that paternal involvement is a universally desirable goal" (p. 201). They alluded to the possibility that increased paternal involvement can have positive and negative effects depending on the degree to which the father reinforces and punishes sex-typed behavior. Research on paternal noninvolvement is inconclusive (Franklin). However, a summary of Radin's (1976, 1981, 1982), Biller's (1981), and Lamb et al.'s (1986) findings and comments, as cited in Franklin, is as follows:

1. Most boys, regardless of father presence or involvement, develop appropriate sex roles. Sex-role development is a function of many determinants.

2. Father-absent children seem to be characterized by poorer school performance than are children from two-parent families.

3. "Children with highly involved nurturant fathers manifested more cognitive competence and internal loci of control" (p. 202).

4. Some studies indicated that boys whose fathers are absent display "less moral internalization and are more likely to become delinquents than boys whose fathers are present" (Lamb et al.; cited in Franklin, p. 151). However, the research strongly indicates that "mothers have a much greater influence on moral development than fathers do" (p. 151).

5. Children who experience parental separation resulting in father absence show more signs of psychological maladjustment, although it is difficult to determine whether marital disharmony or father absence is the determining factor.

6. There is no longitudinal evidence of the effects of paternal noninvolvement.

Men in Relation to Their Work

Sanford and Lough (1988) opened this discussion with a comprehensive comment:

> For most men, work is one of *the* most, if not the most important aspect of their lives. . . . Whether his work is satisfying or unsatisfying, rewarding or unrewarding, it will dominate his existence. . . . In other cultures work has not played the same role for men as it has in our Western culture. (p. 93)

The role a man's work plays in his life, or "the total hours spent at work each week, is the most significant predictor of family strain" (Yogman & Brazelton, 1986; cited in Pasick, 1990, p. 45). The reason for this dedication to the world of work is that men often rely almost exclusively on their occupation to bolster their self-esteem and therefore become emotionally unavailable to their families, whether at home or in the office (Brittan, 1989; Keen, 1991; Ochberg, 1987; Pasick, 1990b). Seidler (1989) agreed that men learn to "identify their sense of self so strongly with their individual achievements and successes in the public world of work that they do not realize the damage this may do to their capacities for open and loving relationships" (p. 18). He explained that men in intimate relationships are often confused when their partners do not congratulate them for driving themselves "beyond their limits of exhaustion" (p. 115). Consequently, a man may feel "bitter and resentful when his partner shows scorn for the condition he has got himself into" (p. 115).

When a man's sense of self is dominated by his role in the work place, his relationships with others may suffer, but so will his relationship with himself. Keen (1991) asked, "At what cost to the life of our body and spirit do we purchase corporate and professional success?" (p. 62). The general view is that men have been programmed to pursue success and achievement at the expense of learning to meet their emotional needs, which, in turn, directly affects their mental and physical health (Balswick, 1988; Hunter, 1988; McGill, 1985; Pasick, 1990; Ochberg, 1987; Osherson, 1986). Bly (1990) also suggested that "a deep sense of failure and inadequacy comes from not meeting expectations of unrealistic role models" (p. 13), and Erkel (1990) supported this idea when he said that "no measure of wealth or power can fill the emotional void men feel" (p. 29). "Economic man, the creature who defines itself within the horizons of work and consumption, is not man in any full sense of the word, but a being who has been neutralized, degendered, rendered subservient to the laws of the market" (Keen, 1991, p. 65).

Pleck (1980) brought forth another commonly voiced concern about men's relationship to their work. He felt that the competition experienced in the business world encourages male aggression and violence. McGill (1985) expanded this thought with an inverse view when he said that "ever present competition between men diminishes sharing joy as well. You don't rub a friend's face in your success" (p. 167). Some writers felt that the standard for men is changing as we enter the 1990s and that the norm of one man as the primary breadwinner is being challenged (Pasick, 1990b).

Men's Adherence to a Narrow Definition of Masculinity

The Traditional Male. The traditional male was described as "tough, confident, self-reliant, aggressive, daring, dominant, successful, competent, sexually potent, emotionally controlled, and masculine in every way, that is, not feminine in any way" (Segel-Evans, 1987, p. 118). Definitions in the literature of traditional masculinity repeatedly refer to an absence of feminine traits (Balswick, 1988; Franklin, 1988; Meth, 1990b; Rubin, 1983; Rutherford, 1988; Seidler, 1989). Seidler wrote that "masculinity is an essentially negative identity learnt through defining itself against emotionality and connectedness. . . . We are so anxious as boys to prove that we are not girls" (pp. 7, 17). Brannon (1976; cited in Franklin, 1988) was as explicit as Seidler in his definition: "Part of the definition of masculinity is the socialized avoidance of anything feminine" (p. 63). Balswick (1988) added that "if I am not an adequate male, I will definitely *not* be female in my expressiveness" (p. 117). A history of masculinity indicates that a traditional male is expected to subdue his emotional and sexual self in order to develop his capacity for rational thought and intellectualizing (Rutherford, 1988). Pleck (1981) cited a study (Adorno et al., 1950) which he considered to be "one of the most important and influential studies in the history of American psychology," on the authoritarian personality. He quoted one of the study's staff members:

> The authors of the *Authoritarian Personality* became convinced that one of the main sources of the male personality syndrome was ego-alien femininity - that is to say, underlying femininity that had to be countered by whatever defenses the subject had at his disposal. (p. 41)

Pleck (1981) summarized the traditional male and the role a man is expected to play in the following excerpt:

> In the traditional male role, masculinity is validated ultimately by individual physical strength and aggression. Men are generally expected not to be emotionally sensitive to others or emotionally expressive or self-revealing, particularily of feelings of vulnerability or weakness. Paradoxically, anger and certain other impulsive emotional expressions, particularily toward other males, are expected or tolerated. . . . The traditional male prefers the company of men to the company of women and experiences other men as the primary validators of his masculinity. Though bonds of friendship among men are not necessarily emotionally intimate, they are often strong. In the traditional male role in marital and other relationships, women are seen as necessary for sex and for bearing children, but these relationships are not expected to be emotionally intimate or romantic, and often seem only pragmatic arrangements of convenience. The traditional male expects women to acknowledge and defer to his authority. (p. 140)

The Modern Male. The modern male has felt the necessity to redefine masculinity (Rutherford & Chapman, 1988). Some portion of the emerging men's studies is also attempting to do this by assuming a profeminist perspective on masculinity (Franklin, 1988), and many authors support a decline or change in the traditional male's role because it is viewed as having disasterous results for society (Bly, 1990; Keen, 1991; Meth & Pasick, 1990; Pleck, 1981). The general perspective is that the modern male wishes to develop in an emotionally healthy way; he therefore desires to be liberated from dysfunctional sex-role prescriptions, rigid stereotypes, and the demands of the traditional male role (Meth & Pasick, 1990). Pleck (1981) summarized what the modern male has been able to achieve, thus far, toward that end:

> In the modern male role masculinity is validated by economic achievement and organizational or bureaucratic power. Interpersonal skills and intelligence are esteemed insofar as they lead to these goals. Emotionally, the modern male role strongly values the capacity for emotional sensitivity and self-expression in romantic relationships with women. It holds, however, that these emotional behaviors should occur only with women. Overall, maintenance of emotional control is a crucial role requirement. Anger and other traditional male impulsive emotional behavior are thus discouraged. The modern male prefers the company of women. Women, rather than other men, are experienced as the primary validators of masculinity. Men's relationships with women are now expected to be intimate and romantic. . . . Men's emotional relationships with other men have become weaker and less emotionally important though a high level of competence in conducting work relationships is expected. Komarovsky (1977), for example, reports in an elite college sample that men now disclose more to female than male friends. It is now men's relationships with other men - rather than with women- that seem to be only arrangements of convenience. Male-male relationships often appear to derive primarily from workplace contacts and to be expressed primarily through drinking and watching sports on television. The modern male role has thus emerged and increasingly represents the expectations against which males evaluate themselves. (p. 140-141)

Reclaiming the Masculine: Rejecting the Modern Man. Modern man was viewed by some authors as incomplete and having given up valuable components of masculinity (Bly, 1990; Chapman, 1988; Erkel, 1990; Keen, 1990; Pittman, 1992). Bly (Thompson, 1987) has created the term the soft male (p. 167) to describe the man who has developed the more feminine aspects of his personality to adjust to the demands of the women's movement but who needs to develop further. He descibed these men as "more thoughtful and more gentle people and this is good and necessary but they have not become more free" and as "lovely, valuable people who are unhappy and without energy. They are life-preserving but not exactly life-giving" (p. 167). Bly viewed developing the receptive and more gentle side of the masculine personality as necessary to complete "*one* stage to wholeness" (p. 168). He also indicated concern about the role model that fathers have provided for their sons because he felt that claiming masculinity does not involve a return to "that destructive, aggressive and dominating masculine personality of more chauvinistic days" (Moyers & Bly, 1990, p. 2). "Male chauvinism," Bly stated, "treats people like objects, demands an empire, expresses aggression, whereas the deep male shows true strength to shout the fierce and say what he wants without giving up his feminine side" (Thompson, p. 180). Chapman (1988) expanded on Bly's perspective by saying that "the new man is a reaction" (p. 226) and "the perfect partner for ambitious women who need a wife, not a husband" (p. 231). Keen (1991) added that "recently many men have become aware that they are overdomesticated and have lost a certain quality of wildness that is essential to manhood" (p. 183).

The quality of energy that these writers suggested men reclaim can be described as "emotional strength and spontaneity" (Erkel, 1990, p. 30); "deeply nourishing and spiritually radiant energy" (Thompson, 1987, p. 170), and "an energy that leads to forceful action undertaken, not with cruelty but with resolve" (Bly, 1990, p. 8). A man who has reclaimed his masculine traits would have "overcome his fear of wildness, irrationality, hairiness, intuition, emotion, the body and nature" (p. 14). He would also be willing to "teach the young man how abundant, various, and many-sided his manhood is" (p. 55), be a protector of the earth, represent the positive side of male sexuality, and learn to trust his inner self. A man who has reclaimed his masculinity would be an emotionally whole person capable of expressing and receiving positive and negative emotions; "an emotional body that can receive grief, ecstasy and spirit" (p. 225).

Friendship Between Men

Father-son relationships were described as the pivotal point of the men's movement by such authors as Gordon and Pasick (1990) when they stated that "as therapy focuses on a man's relationship with his father, it usually identifies the single most powerful example of an unfulfilled intimate connection and its consequences" (p. 266). If father-son relationships are the pivotal point, then men in friendship with other men is the cumulative point. The barriers that seem to prevent men from developing and maintaining close relationships with other men encompass all the issues thus presented in the literature review. Pasick (1990) outlined them as follows:

1. men's adherence to a narrow definition of 'masculinity';
2. homophobia;
3. dependence on women for emotional support;
4. excessive devotion to work;
5. reluctance to face conflict;
6. unresolved relationships with fathers (p. 117).

Various authors presented male friendship as relationships which avoid closeness through the use of many tactics (Keen, 1991; McGill, 1985; Meade (1991), cited in Liebman, 1992; Miller, 1983; O'Connor, 1990; Osherson, 1986; Pleck, 1980; Sanford & Lough, 1988). McGill stated that "humor is used as a guise for intimacy and as a guard against it" (p. 161) and that "to go to others in a time of crisis is a sign of weakness" (p. 167). Sanford and Lough commented on competition and male sexuality: "Men lack intimate relationships with other men because they have been taught to view them as competitors not to be trusted. Men also avoid intimacy with men because they fear homosexual implications, mistakenly equating liking with sexuality" (p. 7). Sanford and Lough also discussed how "ego-alliances" (p. 156) and business relationships are substitutes for real friendship and how for many men "their wife is not only their primary relationship but virtually their only intimate relationship" (p. 155).

Research on Men's Friendships. Sherrod (1987) stated that "a considerable body of research confirms the limits on self-disclosure in most close male friendships" (p. 218). He cited a study by Caldwell and Peplau (1982) which examined the content of men's conversations with other men and drew the following conclusions:

1. Men tend not to talk about feelings, problems, and people.
2. Men tend to express less enthusiasm, offer less support, and talk less about relationships than women.
3. Men tend to ask less about feelings than women do.

Other research added the point that "men talk with each other mainly about topical issues" (p. 219). Sherrod concluded that "the same differences repeatedly emerge in patterns of male and female self-disclosure regardless of age, region of the country, or type of measure. In general women talk much more intimately with their friends than men do" (p. 220).

Sherrod (1987) also cited a study by Aries (1976) which attempted to "measure the 'tone' or 'style' of interactions of groups of males as compared to females" (p. 220). The findings are summarized as follows:

> [1.] Early in the sessions, the men developed a stable dominance hierarchy so that the same men always talked the most in all the sessions. In contrast, the women never established a dominance pyramid, and different women held forth on different occasions.
>
> [2.] Males made their points to the group as a whole, as if to command attention, while women talked more to each other, as equals.
>
> [3.] Males said little about themselves, while the women revealed much about their feelings, homes, and families.

> [4.] Males did considerable testing and sizing each other up, through sarcasm, putdowns, and laughter.
>
> [5.] Males often told stories of superiority and aggression, of riots, pranks, and humiliations.
>
> [6.] Females stuck to the topic longer and talked more intimately. (p. 220)

Sherrod (1987) queried whether males are dissatisfied with their friendships. He pointed out that on behavioral and perceptual measures, men may experience less intimacy in their same-sex friendships, but "for most men, most of the time, the dimension of intimacy in friendships with other men may be irrelevant to their lives" (p. 221)--irrelevant in that men seek companionship, not intimacy; commitment, not disclosure; unquestioned acceptance, not unrestricted affirmation. Men infer intimacy through shared activites. Sherrod cited Levinson (1978) as challenging that view, because Levinson's research showed that many men find themselves without a friend to rely on in times of need. Bly (Moyers & Bly, 1990) supported Levinson's findings when he spoke about men who find it difficult to attend a gathering of men:

> And then you notice that something's gone wrong with your business, in your private life, in your relationships. . . . So it takes a little bit of courage to come here. There's lots of men who feel this, and then they won't act on it. . . . "It's true I'm bleeding from all my pores" [these men say], "but I'm fine." (p. 3)

The Need for Male Initiation. According to Bly (1990), "Initiation for young men amounts to helping them remember the wound, and by that we mean the soul wounds, or injuries to the emotional body" (p. 31). Bly (Thompson, 1987) felt that in our culture we do not have appropriate and effective initiation rites to assist pre-adolecent boys to make a break away from their parents' "field of energy" (p. 173).

The first break would be from the mother (Bly, 1990; Erkel, 1990). In the transcript, Bly (Thompson, 1987) stated that

> in the U.S. there are so many big muscled high school boys hulking around the kitchen rudely, and I think in a way they're trying to make themselves less attractive to their mothers. Separation from the mother is crucial . . . the problem is more that the men are not really doing their job. (p.176)

Osherson (1986) added that

> letting go of mother is problematic for boys in several ways. First, the organization of the family and the structure of parenting in our society make most early caretaking a feminine activity; we usually experience caretakers as women. Mothering is a close, tactile holding and caregiving, while fathering is more amorphous. We know our fathers from a distance; they may be warm but are usually more remote. (p. 9)

The next move in the initiation process is the move to bond with the father (Bly, 1990; Erkel, 1990). Bly contended that most men in western society do not make this move and remain stuck at this transitional point for a lifetime. Pittman (1992) agreed and suggested that "it is outrageous to blame mothers for not teaching boys how to be men" (p. 50); he was increasingly convinced that "the problem is not in the relationship with the woman, or with the man's mother, or with the society, but in the boy's relationship with his father" (p. 49). "Moving to the father's world does not necessarily mean rejecting the mother or shouting at her--but rather the movement involves convincing the naive boy or the comfort-loving boy, to die" (Bly, p. 89). Pleck (1987b) did not discuss initiation rites, but he did acknowledge that "males have far more difficulty than females in aquiring an appropriate sex-role identity. Overcoming their initial feminine identification is hypothesized to be the central problem in male's psychological development" (p. 29). Keen (1991) added to Pleck's point:

> More than any single factor, this absence of the father from the modern family is what presently disturbs the relationship between mothers and their sons and therefore between men and women, husbands and wives. Once there was a father, there is now a vacuum. (p. 20)

After the identification period with his father, the boy needs a mentor when he comes of age (Bly, 1990; Erkel, 1990). Young men need "older unrelated males . . . [or] uncles and grandfathers" to initiate them to the male mode of feeling. . . . There's too much tension between [the son] and [the] father" (Moyers & Bly, 1990, p.4). Bly's (1990) concern is that the older men in our communities outside the nuclear family "no longer offer an effective way for the son to break his link with his parents without doing harm to himself. A boy becomes a man only through the active intervention of the older men" (p. 15). Keen (1991) attributed value to this phase of male initiation and reflected on it as it was carried out in the past.

> He would be apprenticed to men who would teach him the spiritual technology (ritual, chants, dances, ceremonies, healing practices), the practical technology (use of tools, methods of hunting, gathering, growing), and the social skills (the art of husbanding, fathering, and fighting), required to fulfill the obligations of manhood. At the end of the educational phase of initiation a boy was invested with some insignia of manhood--a sword, shield, feather cape, or penis sheath--and given the right to marry and assume adult responsibilities and privileges. (p. 31)

The Mentor Relationship. The process of mentoring has a long history which includes the culture of ancient Greece (Sanford & Lough, 1988). A boy's family would allow him to live in the home of an older man in order to be educated, to acquire an understanding of the culture, and to develop the necessary skills to prepare him for independent living. In present-day western society there is no formal way of providing mentors; "to be his own man a boy must separate from reliance on his father, but he is not yet ready to rely on himself" (p. 190). It could be that the father has been emotionally unavailable or physically absent, in which case the boy may then depend on his mentor for his personal and professional identity (Bly, 1990; Keen, 1991; McGill, 1985; Osherson, 1986).

Osherson (1986) cited Vaillant (1977), the director of the Grant Study, who did a longitutinal study of Harvard men. Vaillant studied the lives of successful men in detail and found that

1. emotional detachment from parents is a process which continues throughout adulthood.

2. the presence of mentors was found to be crucial to a successful career and to the maturation process.

3. those who did not discover mentors until midlife or only had mentors in adolescence had relatively unsuccessful careers (p. 53).

Levinson (1978; cited in Osherson) wrote that "the mentor relationship is one of the most complex, and developmentally important, a man can have in early adulthood" (p. 53). Osherson added that the mentee, too, serves an "essential function for the mentor: By nurturing the younger person, the mentor keeps alive his own values and hopes, which helps him deal with his mortality and allows him to develop more 'generative' parts of himself" (p. 53). "Old men and young men define each other through a process of teaching and learning. To grow old without accumulating wisdom and becoming a mentor is to strip the last half of life of its raison d'etre" (Keen, 1991, p. 163).

Concluding Comments

Keen (1991) commented that men have "only recently begun to explore new visions and definitions of manhood" (p. 6). The themes presented in this literature review represent this exploration. Although these themes are considered men's issues, Osherson (1986) examined how "both sexes seem to share a stereotype" (p. 15) that is damaging and limiting to any efforts to act in a profoundly human way and not be superficially separated by issues of gender. He commented on how "many people believe that women care more than men about love. Yet the division of the sexes into men as rational and women as feelers is simply untrue, a harmful and dangerous myth" (p. 15). It is partially this myth which the men's movement is trying to overcome. "It has taken a quarter of a century for men of goodwill to begin to sort out the charges made against us; to plead guilty when we are guilty and refuse to accept unjustly directed rage" (Keen 1991, p. 193). This author hopes that the data which is presented in the following chapters will contribute to the 'sorting process' in a manner which is fair to both sexes.

CHAPTER THREE

Research Design and Methodology

Overview

In this research project, the descriptive-exploratory survey method was used to collect data (Babbie, 1973). The intent was to explore a subset of the men's movement, the mythopoetic stream, in order to make descriptive assertions about the phenomenon of men gathering for the purposes of personal growth. A survey was conducted with the aim of doing a single-time description. The sampling frame (the population of mythopoetic men) was too loosely organized to conduct simple random sampling, therefore, the survey used nonrandom assignment by requesting volunteer participation from a cluster sample (Babbie; Smith & Glass, 1987). A questionnaire was designed for the purposes of this research project.

The Sample

The Ally Press Center in St. Paul, Minnesota, published a quarterly newsletter, Dragonsmoke. Along with the usual features embodied in a newsletter, it advertised literature by the key conference presenters in the mythopoetic stream, Robert Bly, Michael Meade, James Hillman, and Robert Moore. It also kept members informed of scheduled lectures and conferences. Through telephone and personal contact with the key presenters and conference organizers advertised in this newsletter, two groups of men were selected as the research sample. The criteria for selection was (a) group leaders had worked with the key presenters, (b) the group functioned as a mythopoetic group by making use of myths, stories, rituals, and the group members' personal stories as tools for communication, and (c) the group has functioned on a regular basis with an established membership for at least one year.

Group A, The Men's Wisdom Council, met on a monthly basis in Seattle, Washington. Of the approximately 200 men in attendance, 105 volunteered to complete the questionnaire. Group B, A Gathering for Men, also met on a monthly basis in a Seattle suburb. Of the approximately 50 men in attendance, 26 volunteered to complete the questionnaire. Of those that volunteered to participate, there was a 100 percent response rate, however, one questionnaire was misprinted, partially completed, and therefore invalidated as a unit of analysis. Data analysis was based on the 130 completed questionnaires. This is a response rate of 58 percent of the total population of approximately 250 men. For a mail survey, Babbie (1973) identified a 50 percent response rate as 'adequate' for analysis and reporting, a response rate of at least 60 percent as 'good,' and 70 percent or more as 'very good.' Based on this scale, the response rate for this study was classified as 'adequate.' This was not a mail survey but was somewhat similar in that the researcher was asking for volunteers; 58 percent of those who were approached responded by completing the questionnaire.

Research Instrument

A questionnaire was designed specifically for this survey (Appendix D). The construction of the questionnaire began with a content analysis of the relevant literature and critical reviews. From this analysis recurring themes and subthemes were determined. These are outlined in Chapter One. The information sought through the questionnaire was divided into four categories as suggested in Smith and Glass (1987): (1) attributes or demographic information (characteristics such as sex, age, and income level), (2) behavior relating to the men's movement (past and present involvement), (3) attitudes and beliefs about their personal life (what the men feel about various people and situations in their lives, and believe to be true about their lifestyle), and (4) actual behaviors (reasons why men attend men's groups). A fifth section consisted of two open-ended items which allowed qualitative responses designed to summarize the previous sections and act as a validity check on the closed-ended items in the first four sections.

Several steps were taken to establish content validity. Four academics familiar with questionnaire development, including the Chair of the Ethics Review Committee, gave expert advice on question wording, reading level, bias, vagueness, creating parallel questions, and splitting up double questions. A sample of five individuals from the men's movement was selected to fill out the questionnaire and recommend changes. From the opinions gathered a question was added and the content of some questions was clarified. A sample of three individuals from the general public, not directly involved in the men's movement or an academic environment, was also selected to fill out the questionnaire. Changes were recommended regarding the use of unconventional phrases, and the assumption of too much knowledge from the respondent. A timed completion of the questionnaire was also conducted by this sample. Based on the input from the above-mentioned sources, the questionnaire was then reconstructed with the assistance of a measurement expert at the University of Alberta's Center for Research in Applied Measurement and Evaluation.

The final product was reviewed and accepted by the University of Alberta Ethics Review Committee in the Department of Educational Psychology.

Data Collection

The men's meetings were closed to women, and the presence of an observer was considered disruptive, therefore, it was previously arranged that the researcher deliver the surveys to the group leaders prior to the meeting time and retrieve them on the same day. This allowed discussion and clarification with the group leaders as to (a) the time required for the completion of the questionnaire, (b) the need for group leaders to inform participants of all ethical concerns as described in Appendix E, and (c) the assured delivery and retrieval of all completed questionnaires.

Data Analysis

Every response in the questionnaires was examined and assigned a code which was entered into the computer for the data base. For the close-ended questions in Sections One and Two, the assignment of numbers was as follows, (a)=1, (b)=2, (c)=3, (d)=4, etc. (Appendix D). When dual or multiple responses occurred, a logical choice was made or, if such a decision was not reasonable, a code number (8) was assigned which indicated that the response was invalidated. Missing information was also assigned a special code (99).

The single open-ended question (#3) in Section One asked the men to state their job title. Using the Dictionary of Worker Traits (1987) to assist classification, all occupations in medicine and health, education, and religion and theology were assigned to the category 'Helping Professions' and coded as such. All occupations in art, architecture, writing, entertainment, and film production were assigned to the category 'Nontraditional or Creative Occupations' and coded as such. The remaining job titles were assigned the general title of 'Traditional Occupation' and coded as such. The researcher created these categories in response to observations cited in the literature that a disproportionate number of participants were employed in the helping professions and also to determine if a broad cross-section of individuals was represented in the sample (Appendix F).

Four questions in Section Two were partially open-ended. The few responses given in the open-ended portion did not require any special coding because a very high majority of the respondents chose one of the responses already provided. Therefore, the few who did write in their own answer, were coded under the category 'other.'

Frequencies and percentages were calculated on each response in Sections Three and Four. The closed-ended items and the corresponding responses in these sections were then grouped according to the themes outlined in Chapter One. A mean response for each group was calculated. Where necessary, values were reversed and inappropriate individual items were excluded from the groups before the means were calculated (Appendix G).

In Section Five, the qualitative responses were examined and categorized into various themes as they emerged. Each emerging theme was assigned a code for computer analysis (Appendix H). Three codes per questionnaire were assigned in the first question and four codes per questionnaire were assigned in the second question. When an individual responded with fewer than the allotted number of responses, the code 99 was used to indicate the absence of a response.

Delimitations

As a preliminary exploration of the men's movement, this study was designed to collect data from men not women. In this case, data collection was limited to mythopoetic men who attend monthly gatherings in Seattle, Washington.

Limitations

A major limitation of this study is the method used to gather data. A volunteer sample was used which was not randomly chosen from the general population of the men's movement. This limited the research to one stream of the men's movement, the mythopoetic stream, and to respondents who were possibly more motivated and more interested in the topic of study than the nonrespondents. Therefore, there may be some bias to the study findings as this sample may not be representative of the general population of mythopoetic men.

Another limitation is the research instrument which was used to survey the sample. It is a self-reporting instrument which depends on the respondents' accurate view of their lifestyle and relationships. The exploration of relational and psychological issues is a highly subjective area in which responses can be influenced by charismatic leaders and a desire to present data in accordance with the popular view.

The findings of this study were based on the responses of 130 men making it difficult to generalize the findings to the larger population of men involved in the movement. As well, a study which examined men who live in another geographical location, or attend gatherings more or less frequently than this sample may yield different data.

Concluding Comments

In order to present data in the most efficient manner two modes of representing the data have been used. When data refer to responses from individual questions, it is reported in frequencies and percentages. When data refer to responses from questions which have been grouped into a common theme (Appendix G), it is reported as a mean response.

CHAPTER FOUR

Data Analysis and Results

Overview

The primary purpose of this study was to explore groups of men who attended gatherings exclusively for men and who considered themselves part of the men's movement. Chapter Four consists of a presentation of the research data. Since this study was a preliminary exploration of the movement, statistical analysis of the data was limited to the presentation of frequencies, percentages, and means.

In the first section of this chapter a demographic profile of the men is presented. The second section includes information about the frequency of their past and present involvement in the movement. The third section consists of (a) relevant personal issues in these men's lives, which are then compared with (b) their stated reasons for belonging to a men's group. The last section summarizes the qualitative writing submitted by the participants which addresses (a) reasons for being involved and (b) what they consider to be the three most important issues.

Demographic Profile: Section I

Age of Respondents

Almost three quarters (71.6%) of the 130 men who participated in the study were between the ages of 36 and 60 years of age.

Table 1

Age of Respondents

Age Category	Number of men	% of men
18-25 years	6	5%
26-35 years	26	20%
36-45 years	60	46%
46-60 years	33	25%
over 60 years	5	4%
Totals	130	100%

Age is one of the factors which contributes to male expressiveness and readiness for self examination; in other words, maturational transitions in adult male development.

Level of Education Completed

Almost half (47%) of the respondents had a college or university education and 28% had a post graduate education. Cumulatively, that represented 75% of the sample. This does not represent a cross-section of the population.

Table 2

Level of Education Completed

Level of education	Number of men	% of men
Elementary or Junior High School	2	1%
High School	18	14%
Technical/Vocational/Trade school	13	10%
College/University	61	47%
Post Graduate University	36	28%
Totals	130	100%

Classification of Occupation

Table 3

Classification of Occupation

Classification	Number of men	% of men
Professional	88	68%
Clerical/sales	12	9%
Trade	23	18%
Student	6	5%
Totals	129	100%

Sixty-eight percent of the respondents were employed in jobs which were classified as professional. The second most prominent category was trades; 18% of the participants classified themselves in this category.

Employment Status

This question was designed to determine if this sample of men had an unusual amount of time on their hands due to unemployment. Almost three-quarters (74%) of the men indicated that they were employed full time and 8% indicated that they were unemployed at the time they filled out the questionnaire.

Table 4

Employment Status

Status of Employment	Number of men	% of the men
Full time employ	95	74%
Part time employ	21	16%
Unemployed	10	8%
Retired	2	2%
Totals	128	100%

Job Titles Categorized

Respondents were asked to state their job title and these titles were categorized into three groups: (a) traditional male occupations, (b) helping professions, and (c) nontraditional or creative occupations for men. In this study, one group classification or one occupation was not particularily prominent; there was a very broad representation of occupations. (See Appendix F for the classification of the job titles into these categories.)

Table 5

Job Titles Categorized

Category	Number of men	% of the men
Traditional male occupations	83	65%
Helping professions	29	23%
Nontraditional/creative occupations for men	16	12%
Totals	128	100%

Gross Annual Earnings (in U.S. funds)

In the responses to this question a notable difference in approximate gross annual earnings was evident between the two groups. Group A (The Men's Wisdom Council), which met near downtown Seattle, attracted a generally lower income bracket of men than Group B (A Gathering of Men) which met in a Seattle suburb. This difference was noticable in the $60,000-$80,000 range in which Group B showed approximately four times as many individuals as Group A. This tendency was repeated in the More than $80,000 range in which Group B showed approximately twice as many individuals as Group A.

In both the differentiated and combined groups, approximately one quarter to one third of the respondents reported annual gross earnings between $20,000 and $40,000.

Table 6

Approximate Gross Annual Earnings

Range of gross annual earnings	% of men in Group A (Men's Wisdom Council)	% of men in Group B (Gathering of Men)	% of men in combined groups
Less than $10,000	14%	17%	14%
$10,000-$20,000	24%	13%	22%
$20,000-$40,000	33%	26%	32%
$40,000-$60,000	21%	13%	20%
$60,000-$80,000	4%	17%	6%
More than $80,000	4%	9%	5%
(No response)	-	5%	1%
Totals	100%	100%	100%

Place of Birth, Present Place of Residence, and Years of Residency

The majority (96%-98%) of the respondents were born in the United States and resided in the state of Washington. The remaining 2%-4% were born in Canada or elsewhere and resided in Oregon or Alaska.

Approximately 90% of the respondents had lived in their current resident state since their birth or more than 20 years.

Sexual Orientation

This question attempted to determine if gatherings of men were being used as a meeting ground for homosexual relationships. Respondents were asked to indicate their preference in sexual orientation.

Table 7

Sexual Orientation

Orientation	Number of men	% of the men
Heterosexual	121	94%
Homosexual	4	3%
Bisexual	4	3%
Totals	129	100%

Marital Status

Respondents were asked to indicate whether they were presently married, separated, divorced, single (never been married), or were living with someone. A group comprised mainly of individuals recovering from divorce may have a specific agenda related to divorce issues. The category 'widower' was unintentionally omitted on this scale and this may have created a situation in which some men classified themselves inaccurately.

Table 8

Marital Status

Status	Number of men	% of the men
Married	45	35%
Separated	7	5%
Divorced	29	22%
Single	39	30%
Living with someone	10	8%
Totals	130	100%

Number of Times Married

This question was designed to determine if this sample of men had participated in serial marriages. Only 4% reported being married more than twice.

Table 9

Number of Times Married

Frequency	Number of men	% of the men
Never married	44	34%
Married once	60	46%
Married twice	21	16%
Married more than twice	5	4%
Totals	130	100%

Level of Satisfaction in Present Relationship

More than half (53%) of the men reported that their relationship with their partners was a generally satisfying and positive experience. It is interesting to note that 38% of the men were not in a relationship at the time they completed the questionnaire. Tables 8 and 9 verify the accuracy of this response. In Table 8, thirty-five percent reported that they were single and/or separated, and in Table 9, thirty-four percent reported that they had never been married.

Table 10

Level of Satisfaction in Relationship with Partner

Level of satisfaction	Number of men	% of the men
Satisfying & positive	32	25%
More satisfying & positive than negative & struggling	36	28%
More negative & struggling than satisfying & positive	11	9%
Negative & struggling	—	—
Not in a relationship	49	38%
Totals	128	100%

Parental Status

Precisely one half of the respondents reported having children and one half reported that they did not. The accuracy of this response was verified through the response to another question. Cumulatively, half of the men indicated that they were either actively involved with their children (44%), or they desired to be involved but prevailing circumstances prevented their involvement (6%). In contrast, 29% of the men indicated that they were not parents (27%), or did not wish to be a parent (2%), and 21% hoped to be a parent some day.

Alcohol and Drug Use in Personal Life

Respondents were asked if resisting the over use of alcohol or drugs had been a problem in their life.

Table 11

Alcohol and Drug Use as a Personal Problem

Degree of truth in statement	Number of men	% of the men
Not true	83	64%
Somewhat true	24	18%
Very true	23	18%
Totals	130	100%

The majority of the sample reported that alcohol and drug use was not a problem for them. Approximately one third of the respondents indicated that it was 'somewhat true' (18%) or 'very true' (18%) that resisting the over use of alcohol or drugs was an issue in their lives.

Past and Present Involvement in the Men's Movement: Section II

The nine questions in this section were worded in such a way that respondents answered in a variety of ways. The inconsistent response pattern invalidated the data. For example, each individual was asked in the first question to indicate if he was presently involved in any of the following activities (see Appendix D for complete question):

(a) a ritual group,
(b) a consciousness raising group,
(c) traditional group therapy,
(d) traditional individual counselling,
(e) infrequent attendance at men's gatherings,
(f) other,
(g) no current involvement.

Some individuals checked off more than one response to indicate multiple levels of involvement and others checked off more than one response to more accurately define the multiple functions of their group. Multiple responses were not anticipated and this created confusion. Some respondents attempted to match corresponding multiple responses in related questions and some respondents did not.

Although the responses given were somewhat unreliable, one third (32%) of the men indicated that they were presently participating in some weekly form of group or individual therapy, one half (51%) were participating on a monthly basis, and 10% were participating twice a month. Approximately 5% reported daily attendance in group or individual therapy.

Questions attempting to ascertain past involvement in group, individual therapy, or gatherings of men were also answered in an inconsistent manner and confused with the section on present involvement. However, responses indicated that approximately one third (31%) of the men reported no past involvement other than their involvement in the group being surveyed, 28% reported some previous involvement over the past 5 years, 5% reported being previously involved for more than the past 5 years, and 36% indicated confusion about how to respond to the question.

What can be accurately stated from this section is that in this sample of men only 2% had been involved with any other stream of the men's movement. Although 9% reported being involved in nationally organized groups such as "Oddfellows," 89% claimed no past involvement in any men's group which had a national focus.

Personal and Relational Issues in the Respondents' Lives Compared with Reasons for Exploring Men's Issues:

Sections III and IV

Overview

As was discussed at the end of Chapter Three, data in this section is presented in two forms. When data refers to responses from individual questions, it is reported in frequencies and percentages. When data refers to responses from questions which have been grouped into a common theme (Appendix G), it is reported as a mean response.

When the questionnaire referred to an issue within the men's personal lives, a three point Likert-type scale of (a) 'not true for me = 0,' (b) 'somewhat true for me = 1,' and (c) 'very true for me = 2,' was used in Section Three. Therefore, when a mean response of 1.3 is calculated from a group of questions, it is to be understood that for this set of questions most of the respondents felt that the issue was 'somewhat true' for them in their personal lives.

When the questionnaire referred to a reason why the men are exploring the men's movement, a three point Likert-type scale of (a) 'not a reason = 0,' (b) 'a somewhat important reason=1,' and (c) 'a very important reason = 2,' was used in Section Four. Therefore, when a mean response of 1.3 is calculated from a group of questions it is to be understood that for this set of questions most of the respondents felt that the reason was 'somewhat important' for their attendance at the men's meeting. Calculating means using an ordinal scale is consistent with the advice given in Marascuilo and McSweeny (1977). The Likert-type scale used in this study can be considered either an ordinal or quasi-interval scale.

Exploring Men's Issues as Part of a Spiritual Search

Issue. Table 12 contrasts the percentage of respondents who were not affiliated with a religious group (60%) with the percentage of respondents who considered it to be a 'somewhat true' or 'very true' statement that they were spiritual individuals (99%).

Reason. The percentages in Table 13 indicate that 95% of the participants felt that the search for some spiritual meaning in their life was 'somewhat of a reason' or 'a very important reason' for participating in the men's movement.

Table 12

Men's Movement as Part of a Spiritual Search:

Spirituality and Affiliation with Religious Organizations

Degree of truth	% of the men who consider self a spiritual person	% Affiliated with organized religious group
Not true	1%	60%
Somewhat true	25%	18%
Very true	74%	22%
Totals	100%	100%

Table 13

The Issue of Spirituality and Affiliation and

Spirituality as a Reason for Involvement in the Men's Movement

% of the men who consider themselves a spiritual person	% Affiliated with organized religious group	% who consider spirituality a reason for involvement
Not true 1%	Not true 60%	Not a reason 5%
Somewhat true 25%	Somewhat true 18%	Somewhat a reason 29%
Very true 74%	Very true 22%	Very important reason 66%

Exploring Men's Issues as a Way to Balance Career Pressures

Table 14

Importance of Work

Work is important	Number of men	% of the men
Not true	12	9%
Somewhat true	42	33%
Very true	75	58%
Totals	99	100%

Issue. Over one half (57%) of the men considered their work a very important part of their life. Although work was identified as a 'somewhat' or 'very' important issue to approximately 90% of the men, a group of questions constructed to ascertain whether they considered themselves overly dedicated to their work revealed an mean response of 1.5 which fell between being 'somewhat true' and 'very true.'

Reason. Approximately one-third (31%) of the men indicated that attending a men's gathering provided a 'very important' balance to their drive for success and achievement at work. Thirty-three percent indicated that attending provided 'somewhat' of a balance, and the remaining 36% of the men did not come to the gatherings for reasons related to feeling overworked. The mean response of 0.9 indicated that balancing over dedication to work was 'somewhat of a reason' for participating in the men's movement.

Importance of a Noncompetitive Atmosphere

Issue. The issue of competitiveness at work creating a sense of isolation and preventing the establishment of friendships was reported as being 'somewhat true' for 38% of the men, and 'very true' for 16% of the men--a total of 52%.

Reason. The noncompetitive atmosphere of the men's gatherings was one of the reasons 96% of the men attend. The mean response of 1.6 indicated that the noncompetitive atmosphere was 'a very important reason' (Table 15).

Table 15

Importance of a Noncompetitive Atmosphere

Noncompetitiveness	Number of men	% of men
Not a reason	4	3%
Somewhat of a reason	42	32%
A very important reason	84	65%
Totals	130	100%

Emotional Inexpressiveness as an Issue in the Men's Movement

Issue. The series of questions designed to determine if emotional inexpressiveness was a problem in the respondent's' lives revealed a mean of 1.1 or 'somewhat true' for this sample.

Reason. It was also 'somewhat of a reason' (mean of 1.3) for their attendance at men's gatherings. However, when asked if connecting with their inner self (which can be different than expressing their inner self) was a reason for attending, a stronger response was indicated; 98% indicate that it was 'somewhat of a reason' or a 'very important reason.' The resulting mean score was 1.8 (a very important reason=2.0). The differentiating word was 'connecting.'

Table 16

Connecting with Inner Self as a Reason for Exploring Men's Issues

Connecting with inner self	Number of men	% of men
Not a reason	3	2%
Somewhat of a reason	20	16%
A very important reason	107	82%
Totals	130	100%

The Men's Movement as a Way of Improving Relationships with Women

Issue. This series of questions examined the degree of difficulty respondents experienced in their relationships with women. The mean response was 0.5 which is half way between 'not true' and 'somewhat true.' The responses also indicated that respondents experienced less control from men than from women (Table 17).

Reason. Improving relationships with women as a reason for exploring the men's movement had a mean response of 1.0 (somewhat of a reason=1.0). When asked if they were exploring men's issues to try to understand why they allowed the significant women in their lives to control them, the mean response was 0.96 (somewhat of a reason=1.0).

Table 17

Feeling Controlled by Significant Men and Women

Relationship perceived as controlling	Control by men	Control by women
Not true	58%	40%
Somewhat true	35%	44%
Very true	7%	16%
Totals	100%	100%

The Men's Movement as a Reaction to the Women's Movement

Issue. This was a highly controversial issue and it was very specifically addressed in the survey. Questions were designed to determine if the respondents support the women's movement. The mean response was 1.5 which is between 'somewhat true' and 'very true.'

Reason. They were also asked if one of the reasons they belong to the men's movement is to express their anger about the women's movement (Table 18). The mean response was .05 (not a reason=0.1) which indicated that these men did not come together for the reason of venting anger at the women's movement

Table 18

The Men's movement as a Way of Expressing Anger at the Women's Movement

Expressing anger at the women's movement	Number of men	% of the men
Not a reason	121	95%
Somewhat of a reason	7	5%
A very important reason	0	0
Totals	128	100%

Father-son Relationships as a Men's Issue

Issue. A series of questions was created to determine if the men attending these groups had a strained adult relationship with their fathers and to gain some perception of the degree of strain. The mean response to these questions was .67 which indicated that father-son relationships were 'somewhat' of a problem for the respondents (somewhat = 1.0).

Reason. Another series of questions attempted to determine if the strained father-son relationship was a reason for participating in the men's movement, and the degree to which this was a motivating factor. The mean response to this series of questions was 1.2 which indicated that their father-son relationships were 'somewhat of a reason' for their involvement.

An examination of the childhood father-son relationship revealed a stronger response. Respondents were asked if they needed more encouragement and support from their fathers than they received. The mean response to this question was 1.6 which indicated that this statement was 'very true' (very true=2.0).

Table 19

Son's Need for More Support from Father During Childhood

Need for more support	Number of men	% of the men
Not true	11	9%
Somewhat true	25	19%
Very true	93	72%
Totals	129	100%

Mother-son Relationships as a Men's Issue

Issue. Parallel questions to the father-son series were created about mother-son relationships to determine if the men attending these groups had strained relationships with their mothers. The mean response to these questions was 0.79 which indicated that mother-son relationships were 'somewhat' of a problem for the respondents (somewhat = 1.0)..

Reason. A series of parallel questions was also designed to determine if a strained mother-son relationship was a reason for participating in the men's movement, and the degree to which this had been a motivating factor to attend. The mean response to this series of questions was 1.0 which indicated that mother-son relationships, were 'somewhat of a reason' for their involvement.

Relationships with Children as an Issue in the Men's Movement

Issue. Respondents were asked if they have difficulty developing close relationships with their children. Sixty-five of the respondents had children and a few indicated that they lived with someone who had children, therefore, percentages were calculated from the 67 responses to the question. Forty-two percent reported that they did not have difficulty developing close relationships with their children, 45% indicated that the statement was 'somewhat true,' and 13% feel that it was 'very true.'

Reason. When asked if exploring men's issues helped them to understand how to develop closer relationships with their children, 94% indicated that it was a 'somewhat' or 'a very important reason' to be involved and 6% indicated that it was 'not a reason' to attend.

Table 20

Relationships with Children as a Reason to Attend Men's Gatherings

Improving relationships with their children	Number of men	% of the men
Not a reason	4	6%
Somewhat of a reason	23	34%
A very important reason	41	60%
Totals	68	100%

Men in Friendship with Other Men

Issue. A group of questions was constructed to ascertain whether the respondents felt a need for close relationships with other men. The mean response to these inquiries was 1.6 which, rounded off to 2.0, indicated that the need was 'very true.'

Reason. When asked if sharing with men at a deeper level was one of the reasons they attended men's gatherings, the mean response was 1.9 (very important reason = 2.0) which indicated that it was 'a very important reason' (Table 21).

Table 21

Men Seeking Deeper Friendships with Other Men as a Reason for Exploring Men's Issues

Men sharing with men	Number of men	% of the men
Not a reason	0	0%
Somewhat of a reason	13	10%
A very important reason	115	89%
Totals	128	99%

Issue. When asked if their significant relationships tend to be with women, the mean response was .98 which indicated that this was 'somewhat true' for this sample of men. Thirty-six percent of the respondents stated that it was 'not true' that their significant relationships were with women; 30% stated that it was 'somewhat true'; and 34% stated that it was 'very true.'

Men and Mentoring within the Men's Movement

Issue. Table 22 indicates that the respondents felt an ongoing need for male mentorship but most had not received this kind of guidance.

Table 22

Men Needing Mentors: Men Acquiring Mentors

Degree of truth in statement	Have a need for a mentor	Have had a mentor
Not true	5%	41%
Somewhat true	22%	36%
Very true	73%	23%
Totals	100%	100%

Reason. Interestingly, the need for mentoring and the apparent lack of it was not a strong motivating factor for attending gatherings of men. A mean response of 1.0 indicated that finding a mentor at these gatherings was 'somewhat of a reason' for attending for most of the men. Twenty-eight percent of the respondents indicated that searching for a mentor was 'not a reason' they participate in a men's group; thirty-seven percent indicated that it was 'somewhat of a reason'; and 35% indicated that it was a 'very important reason' for participating.

The Men's Movement as a Vehicle for Reclaiming Masculinity

Issue. A group of questions was designed to assess whether the respondents experienced negative reactions from people outside of the group toward personality traits such as intensity and fierceness and toward masculinity in general. A mean of 1.0 indicated that this was 'somewhat true' for this sample of men.

Reason. A slightly stronger response (mean of 1.3) was given when they were asked if belonging to a men's group is a way of experiencing acceptance of their masculinity. Responses to two specific statements are included in Table 23. The statements were (a) This is a way to find acceptance of the more intense and fierce aspects of my masculinity, and (b) I am involved because I need to affirm aspects of masculinity which are not respected in our society.

Table 23

Exploring Men's Issues as a Vehicle for Reclaiming Masculinity

Degree to which issue is perceived as a reason for participating	Accepting intensity & fierceness	Affirming masculine traits
Not a reason	10%	12%
somewhat of a reason	38%	33%
A very important reason	52%	55%
Totals	100%	100%

Issue. In contrast, when asked if rejecting the sensitive and caring aspects of their personalities was a problem in their personal lives, the mean response (0.57) was between 'not true' and 'somewhat true'.

Reason. When asked if one of the reasons they attend gatherings of men is to develop the caring and sensitive aspects of themselves, the mean response moved up to 1.4 which is between 'somewhat of a reason' and 'a very important reason.'

The Use of Myths and Rituals as Motivating Factors

Reason. To assess the importance of using myths, fairy stories, and rituals, questions were constructed to ask if this mode of expression helped the respondents to express their feelings, and if this was an emotionally safe way to express them. The mean response to these questions was 1.2 which indicated that it was 'somewhat of a reason' to belong to this particular stream of the men's movement. Table 24 gives a more detailed account of the responses and it is worth noting that 48% of the participants indicated that this mode of expression helped them to express their feelings and it was 'a very important reason' for their attendance in the group. When combined with those who considered it 'somewhat important,' 82% of the respondents placed some importance on this mode of expression and sharing.

Table 24

The Use of Myths, Fairy Stories, and Rituals

Degree to which issue is a reason for participating	Helps me to express my feelings	Is an emotionally safe way of expressing myself
Not a reason	18%	23%
somewhat of a reason	34%	38%
A very important reason	48%	40%
Totals	100%	100%

Qualitative Writing: Section V

Overview

Participants in this study were asked two open-ended questions in Section Five of the questionnaire. Their qualitative responses were used (a) as a confirmation that all pertinent issues and motivating factors had been covered within the first part of the questionnaire, and (b) to identify which issues and motivating factors the participants considered to be the most important. A summary of this information is presented in Tables 25 and 26.

The Most Important Issues in the Men's Movement as Identified by the Respondents

Summary of Qualitative Data: Question 1

Table 25

Most Important Issues Identified

Issue identified	Number of men	% of the men
Emotional inexpressiveness	96	26%
Dominance in relationships	45	12%
Detachment from self	37	10%
Friendship with men	35	10%
Intimacy with women	33	9%
Masculinity as not being feminine	27	7%
Reclaiming masculinity as positive	17	5%
Identity and achievement	15	4%
Spiritual search	12	3%
Father-son relationships	11	3%
Sexuality	9	2%

Male initiation	5	1%
Deteriorating physical health	1	0.5%
Intimacy with children	1	0.5%
Miscellaneous reasons	11	3%
Totals	369	100%

The categories (a) emotional inexpressiveness, (b) detachment from self, and (c) friendship with men were at the top of the list and concur with the findings from the quantitative section of the questionnaire. The category 'dominance in relationships' was prominent in this summary which conflicted with the data analysed in Sections Three and Four. This difference is discussed in Chapter Five.

The category 'spiritual search' was not prominent as an issue in this summary but in Table 13, seventy-four percent of the men identified themselves as being spiritually inclined. This discrepancy is also discussed in Chapter Five.

All other categories in this summary indicated a similar level of prominence with the parallel category analysed in the previous sections.

You also talked about the kinds of choices you make working with Tammy.

T: *There are times when I have to take two minutes [to talk] with Tammy and other times I have to say: "This is not an issue [Tammy]. Go and sit down. You know what is expected. That is it." (Interview 13, January 14, 1992, p. 25-26)*

You were more likely to talk with Tammy than to turn her away. You explained your approach this way:

T: *Maybe I take a little more from Tammy than I should at times but to be nonconfrontational with her is probably the most important thing...because she does come around...But she will whine...and say: "Oh, this sucks!"*
C: *...provoking kinds of remarks to get a reaction out of you...*
T: *...and if I respond in a confrontational way she is not going to do a darn thing...(Interview 13, January 14, 1992, p. 26)*

You again thought about your other students and how they might interpret your tolerance for Tammy.

T: *...at the same time, there are other students watching this attitude of her's and watching my response...*
C: *"Now, if that works for Tammy, maybe I can whine, too."*
T: *Right...So I have to be very careful...(Interview 13, January 14, 1992, p. 26)*

You thought about the modelling that was going on in your class and were cognizant of how Tammy could affect other students and the tone of your classroom. You weighed these possibilities and felt Tammy's experience of success was most important:

T: *My whole approach this year is that I am going to get her through this year, one way or another. I am going to help her to be successful this year...*
C: *So it means taking a little aggravation from her?*
T: *Yes. I have decided that it is so important for her to experience life in a normal classroom and perhaps one year is not going to change her whole life, but it will put her that much closer to where she would like to be. She is so concerned this year. Tammy puts pressure on herself and her mom puts pressure on Tammy. I am trying to balance things out...(Interview 13, January 14, 1992, p. 27)*

Tammy's success in your classroom was more important to you than the minor inconveniences she caused you and the other students. Helping Tammy be successful was a priority for you:

T: *Without a doubt, her story has probably been on my mind more than anything else this year...*

C: *I can see where Tammy stands out [for you]...(Interview 13, January 14, 1992, p. 25; 29)*

That is why you named your experience with Tammy as one of your telling stories of your second year of teaching.

Cheryl's Response

This story did not surprise me. What I found interesting was how you told about recent incidents with Tammy while I storied earlier experiences. Even though we discussed different freeze frames of time, there was much similarity in our tellings. Your story, however, conveyed more of a sense of wanting Tammy to make it through the year, more of your intentions in helping her succeed.

Tim's Response

We all have our "limits" to tolerance and Tammy has certainly helped me to discover those and further understand myself as a teacher. The modelling of negative behaviour and possible influence on my other students has been a concern, but maintaining my composure has been vital in the overall "plan" for her success and my success in dealing with her. You are right. My story conveyed a sense of "getting her through" this year and if you ask me today, I would convey the same message. Part of my goal now is also to help her to look at herself in the morning and say: "I am a good person."

Finding My Spot: Year 2

This is one of Cheryl's telling stories of Tim's second year of teaching. It relates to two telling stories Tim and Cheryl told last year: "Finding My Spot" (Cheryl's version of Tim's experiences) and "Finding My Spot, My Niche" (Tim's version of his experiences). Cheryl's "Finding My Spot: Year 2" story is followed by two of Tim's telling stories of his second year of teaching: "The Computer Room" and "Realigning the Treadmill."

In the summer between your first and second years of teaching, we discussed one of your goals for your second year of teaching: your desire to establish your "spot" on the staff. Both you and I had previously identified this theme as one of your first year telling stories. I called my version of your story: "Finding My Spot." The story you told was: "Finding My Spot, My Niche." This piece is a second instalment which traces back to your first year of teaching.

After your first year of teaching, you realized the school activities you were doing were giving you leadership opportunities and that these leadership responsibilities were highly valued in the school system. You liked these responsibilities outside the classroom. You wanted "to continue the momentum---

without becoming pushy." You said: "I'd like to be one of the people that say things at meetings that make people think and have an effect on the way things are done [at the school]" (Interview 10, August 2, 1991, p. 34). When seven people transferred from your school at the end of your first year, you recognized this staff change would create new opportunities for you. You mentioned that new staff members did not need to know you were a beginning teacher. In this story, I introduce the kinds of spots you filled on the staff, describe how you acquired these positions, and explore the kinds of leadership opportunities these jobs offered you.

In your second year of teaching, Victor had already identified you and Helga as a Welcoming Committee. You said:

> I wonder what the principal is doing making Helga and myself Resource People [on the Welcoming Committee]. I appreciate the thought he thinks that or perceives that I have something to share and that I could be a potential leader in the school, maybe. (Interview 7, July 3, 1991, p. 44)

You saw this place as one where you could show your leadership potential.

In your first year of teaching, you became a part of the school staff two weeks after school started. You missed the planning days when the school calendar was set. You did not see how curricular and extracurricular responsibilities were divided among teachers. In your first year, you followed a plan set by others. In your second year, you had an opportunity to shape the school calendar and to choose responsibilities you would assume.

On August 29, 1991, your staff met to make school decisions. One of the decisions was who would be subject area curriculum leaders. I described the process this way: "The staff went through a period of choosing who would be the subject coordinators for each subject area. This went very amicably. Everybody volunteered... Sometimes there were more volunteers [than needed] " (Organizational Day Notes, August 29, 1991, p. 6). You became the Coordinator of the Computer Program. Rhonda, who had this job last year, had moved to another school. A place had opened up for you to assume some leadership.

Another position was the Teachers' Association Representative. Leonard had previously been the representative. You knew about the work of the Council of School Representatives through numerous conversations with him (Interview 7, July 3, 1991, p. 39). When Victor asked who was interested in being the Teachers' Association Representative, Leonard, Brent, and you volunteered. I described the situation this way:

> Leonard had been the representative last year and Brent had been the alternate. Brent expressed interest in doing it this year and Leonard said he would be the alternate. Then Victor said: "Is there anyone else who would want to be in these positions?" ...Tim put up his hand and said: "I would like to be the alternate." ...It ended up that Brent took the position

> and Tim became the alternate." (Organizational Day Notes, August 29, 1991, p. 19)

Brent held the position for a few days until he was transferred to another school. You became the main representative and Leonard became the alternate.

On the Organizational Day program, there was time set aside for you to discuss the school computer program with the staff. The administrators had already timetabled you to teach computers to other classes. In the past, the school computers had been distributed in many classrooms. You suggested a different approach: "Tim next spoke about computers. He said he would be working with students two hours per week. He suggested the notion of locating a computer lab in the seminar room rather than moving the computers from classroom to classroom" (Organizational Day Notes, August 29, 1991, p. 20).

Many people supported your idea at the meeting, particularly Vicki, Sandra, and Helga. Helga said: "It does not seem like anyone is uncomfortable with Tim's idea. Why don't you go ahead, Tim, and try it out? After we have tried it for a bit, then we [the staff] can come back and evaluate it" (Organizational Day Notes, August 29, 1991, p. 20).

Staff members like Helga were prepared to let you assume sole responsibility for the school computer program. Jonas, the vice-principal, was somewhat uncomfortable with the idea.

> Jonas suggested a committee be set up of people interested in the computer program and the movement of computers in the school. He said he wanted to be involved in the decision making because he wanted to use the computers...to his maximum benefit. Jonas questioned: "How am I going to know what is going on if Tim is doing all the scheduling?" (Organizational Day Notes, August 29, 1991, p. 21)

The staff decided concerned teachers would meet with you to discuss the matter.

September 13, 1991 was another important day when leadership responsibilities were divided among staff members. On this Professional Development Day, your staff focused on the school improvement plan, a mandated plan on which each school in the system must focus. The school plan revolved around a mission statement written by your school administrators: "to develop a regenerative work environment which will ensure high quality student education and professional wellness" (Professional Development Day Notes, September 13, 1991, p. 2-3). As part of the plan, the staff looked at their historical actions, activities they had been involved in in the past; their futuristic actions, things they would like to be doing; and their realistic actions, activities they felt they feasibly could do (Organizational Day Notes, August 29, 1991, p. 21). The staff also worked on three charts: an extracurricular chart, a curricular chart, and a professional development chart. As you and other staff members worked on the charts, all the activities from your "treadmill" story surfaced. The staff decided to keep some activities, modify others, and reject others. The staff, for example, decided to keep the Sports Day, cut down on the number of school assemblies, and eliminate the Christmas concert, a school tradition. The staff also agreed to have club activities one year and sports activities the following year. You felt this decision was an "overreaction" to the treadmill of activities. You took this decision back to the staff for review. Having club activities one year and athletic activities a second year did not offer all students a variety of activities from which to choose. The staff overturned the decision by a narrow margin. Staff members decided to offer a combination of club and sports activities each year. You described the situation this way:

> I think back to the beginning of this [second] year when certain extracurricular activities were left out because the staff was over-reacting to last year's "treadmill." It was I who advocated for our nonathletic students and brought about a reassessment of what we really wanted to do. This was another significant occurrence which contributed to my growth. (Response to **"On The Treadmill"**)

You associated your "growth" with your ability to voice your opinions at staff meetings. You also used your influence prior to and during the meeting. Marj told me you had built a convincing argument which you shared with her prior to the meeting. She gave her support before the meeting. In this way, I saw you influencing how things were done at the school.

Other important decisions were also made at the Professional Development Day. The staff decided to organize themselves into three main decision-making bodies: a Professional Development Committee, an Extracurricular Committee, and a Curricular Committee. You offered to sit on the Professional Development and Extracurricular Committees.

Soon after that day, your staff found out the enrolment had declined and two teachers would be declared surplus. You were one of the teachers. You described your feelings this way:

> I was starting to feel settled and sort of finding my own niche within the school. I tell people sometimes that I am worried because I am getting so vocal about some things...But that is part of my growth, too...moving toward a leadership kind of role. (Interview 11, October 30, 1991, p. 13)

Brent volunteered to be the teacher transferred and saved you from being the surplus teacher. You were again able to focus on school activities and your leadership responsibilities outside the classroom. After the Professional Development Day, you decided you would join the third decision-making committee. You became part of the Curriculum committee. You said your membership on the committee was "only because of the computer curriculum ...otherwise, it is something I would rather not think about this year" (Interview 11, 1991, p. 6). Later, you found a second reason for being involved. The committee was beginning to discuss the purchase of curricular materials. You and other teachers found "implications for budget" a good reason to be on the committee (Interview 11, October 11, 1991, p. 1). You wanted a voice in how the school budget would be spent and what materials would be purchased. This reminded me of your last year's comment about wanting to be a teacher who influences other teachers and school decision making.

Because you were the computer coordinator, you were released for one-half day to attend a computer meeting. In the past, Rhonda attended these inservice training sessions. You explained how you got to participate: "Victor put the note in my box saying 'You may be interested in this. Rhonda was doing it.' So I said: 'Okay. I'll go [to the meeting]'" (Interview 11, October 11, 1991, p. 5). Again, Victor opened a space for you to take a leadership position.

You also found miscellaneous responsibilities you could take on in the school. For example, you filled a gap left by Brent:

T: I went to a drama and lighting inservice. Mary Ann and I went so we could be qualified to use the equipment. Brent was [in charge of it] but he left the school.
C: So, somebody had to fill that spot...You are filling a lot of spots, Tim, the computer one, and so on.
T: I just seem to be getting my hand in many pots. (Interview 11, October 11, 1991, p. 11)

At one point, we generally discussed changes in the staff and how the new teachers were finding their places. We talked about it this way:

C: So, now they [the staff members who transferred] are gone, is there anybody...does that open up some spaces for other people?
T: Yes. I think there is some definite movement. The new teachers are starting to find their spots. I think there is some shifting going on in terms of who is going to influence who. It is all friendly so far. Everybody is very professional about it...
C: Yes...With some people gone, are there more spaces for you, too, Tim?
T: ...yes, yes. I'm finding my suggestions are perhaps more valued this year. (Interview 11, October 11, 1991, p. 19)

I again got the sense you were accomplishing part of last year's goal. In our summer conversations, you had talked about influential teachers and your desire to be one of them. You were now having more opportunities to influence staff members and recognized your suggestions were "more valued."

In addition to chairing the extracurricular committee and creating monthly calendars of events, you were active on the Professional Development Committee. You arranged the speaker, were in charge of introductions and the organization of equipment for the second Professional Development Day. You also were active in the decision making for the third Professional Development Day, the one the board cancelled. When the day was rescheduled, you were involved in a skit and introduced the speakers (Professional Development Day Notes, February 14, 1991, p. 1).

Committee work left you little time in a work day. When I worked with you, there was only one noon hour when you did not have a meeting to attend (November 14, 1991, p. 1). On September 24, I specifically outlined the activities of your day:

> Tim started his day by working on extracurricular activities and talking with the staff. He went to teach his classes and was phoned during class time to complete the calendar outline [of school events] for the school newsletter. Tim then had recess and went back to teaching his class. All through the noon hour, Tim was in a professional development meeting. All afternoon, he taught with no breaks. After school, Tim had children staying in with detentions, then a meeting with a parent, then another meeting. At best, Tim said he would be home by 8:00 P.M. and have a little time to plan for tomorrow. (Participant Observation Notes, September 24, 1991, p. 15)

As I wrote this story and highlighted this particular day's activities and the "place" you were finding for yourself, I was reminded of your response to last year's **"Finding My Spot, My Niche"** story.

> I have indeed found a "place" on staff in several areas this year: the New Teacher Group, the Alberta Teachers' Association representative, Committee Work on two committees: Professional Development and Extracurricular, and the Computer Coordinator. I know this is a lot when you consider what the average teacher here does, or is willing to do. I am full of enthusiasm and I want to be on the "leading edge" in our school. (Tim Responds to Cheryl's Response to Tim's **"Finding My Spot, My Niche"** Story)

In both situations, you equated your positions with your sense of place on the school staff. You also felt the tasks you did outside the classroom offered you a way to be on "the leading edge" of the school. These positions offered you the leadership opportunities you wanted. You often mentioned "growth," "leadership roles" and "emerging into leadership" in our conversations. This lead me to ask you whether you were constructing a future for yourself as a school principal. "Not for at least ten years!" was your reply. You felt in ten years there would be lots of spaces for new administrators in the school system (Interview 12, December 11, 1991, p. 8).

While you actively sought leadership opportunities, you also knew their downside which you explained in your response to **"Listening To The Children"**:

> It is so easy to get wrapped up in preparation and other school activities that sometimes our focus shifts away from students. Other agendas may emerge from the institutional setting and "culture" of the school and may be beyond our immediate control as classroom teachers. These agendas may impact directly or indirectly on the teacher and the greater the number of agendas that emerge, the more the focus moves away from the individual teacher's students. This may be a major source of stress for classroom teachers because of the "fragmenting" nature of multiple agendas. (Tim's Response to **"Listening to the Children"**)

You knew it was difficult not to be "on the treadmill," especially when it is the "other agendas," not the teaching activities, which seemed to take precedence in the school. You felt you had to participate in these other "agendas" if you wished to experience leadership opportunities and have a valued place on the school staff and in the school system. You did not have stories of students in your second year of teaching like you had in your **"Listening to the Children"** story. You explained: "There has been nothing really that I have actually stopped to think about. I guess I have been too busy" (Interview 12, December 11, 1991, p. 22).

In this story, I have plucked out narrative threads from your first year stories and tried to weave them into your second year experiences. **Finding My Spot: Year 2** is a story which tells much about your experiences as a second year teacher.

Tim's Response

Reflecting on your piece, I cannot help but see the way things have developed this year. I have coached volleyball, helped run speech club, ran chess club, been on two committees, been Teachers' Association representative, set up a flag football league for Division II boys, and will help run floor hockey tournaments. I am tired, but not as tired as I was last year. I have been feeling a bit fragmented lately. I have been trying to decide what I am willing to continue next year. It seems like I am regularly assessing what I can handle and what seems like too much. At times, I feel like I want to put more time and effort into my teaching and less time into extracurricular things.

Cheryl's Response

You have been involved in many extracurricular activities this year. I can appreciate how you must be feeling tired. Last year, you publicly questioned all these activities. This year you seem to be personally questioning them. It seems there is a dilemma here for you and you walk a fine line between things you can handle and things which are too much. You repeatedly state you would like to spend more time on your teaching. I am wondering how the people in your school context would respond if you cut back on extracurricular activities and spent more time on your teaching.

Realigning the Treadmill

This is one of Tim's telling stories of his second year of teaching.

At the August 29 Organizational Day, the administration asked teachers to brainstorm on three charts posted in the staff room. These charts had to do with historical actions, school activities in the past; futuristic actions, school activities in the future; and realistic actions, school activities in the present. These charts were an introductory activity to the Professional Development Day, September 13, 1991, when the staff would focus on the school improvement plan (Organizational Day Notes, August 29, 1991, p. 21)

On September 13, 1991, the staff met to discuss the plan. The administration had determined the mission statement for the school: "to develop a regenerative work environment which will ensure high quality student education and professional wellness." Victor spoke of a "regenerative work environment" as one which has links between its past, present, and future. He displayed the three completed charts and introduced three new charts: a curricular chart, an extracurricular chart, and a professional development chart. Victor also said he was concerned the staff was doing too much. He said:

> *We were really pushing ourselves toward the end of June [last year]...We have to learn to be realistic and we have to let some things go. We have to think about what we can reasonably accomplish and what we can cooperatively accomplish. (Professional Development Day Notes, September 13, 1991, p. 3)*

The staff then set about to determine realistic school activities for the 1991-92 school year. They sifted through activities listed on the old charts. The staff decided to keep some activities, change others, delete others. One discussion item was school assemblies.

Bonnie: I do not want to do monthly assemblies because they disturb what is going on in my class.
Marj: They are too artificial because we are spending time artificially drumming up a program.
Doris: But we have to learn assembly manners...
Marnie: Well, if we have a theme and we have stuff to present, we can have assemblies...
Marci: Our assemblies should reflect what is going on in class. I have high expectations for student behaviour in assemblies. The kids will only perform at the level we set for them...
Bonnie: We have plenty of opportunities to have assemblies springing out of our incidental programs...
Sandra: There is a strong need for assemblies. They tie the school together. They create interest in what we are doing. Our assemblies have been short. They show what is happening in our classrooms, this kind of communication is important...
Marnie: What is the purpose of assemblies? I will hold my judgement until we are settled on their purpose.
Tim: We have such a quantity of events, maybe we could have assemblies every two months...
Victor: I take it you are saying we should have assemblies for specific purposes as needs arise?
Staff: Agreed.
(Professional Development Day Notes, September 13, 1992, p. 5)

The staff worked through a number of other historical actions such as bulletin board displays, theme days, and reading events. Conversations similar to the one about assemblies took place. When the staff got to the Ice Sculpture Night event, they discarded it. Having both a Christmas concert and a Spring Concert was also a discussion topic. The staff eliminated the Christmas concert and retained one production, a combined effort involving all students in the school.

When the staff looked at extracurricular activities, they had already made a number of major decisions and made many personal time commitments. When the discussion began, it seemed like clubs and sports activities would continue to run concurrently as in previous years:

Jonas: The timing of clubs, could we change the house leagues to noon hour and change the clubs to morning? It seems noon hours have become fighting times on the playground.
Tim: Could we have a committee cooperatively set up a schedule?
Bonnie: We have worn out kids. They are inundated by activities. We have burnt out kids. We really have to consider the kids.
Dolores: How many things are we going to do? (Professional Development Day Notes, September 13, 1992, p. 11)

The discussion carried on to the late afternoon. The staff was exhausted from discussing all the activities they would and would not do. Victor insisted the staff make decisions cooperatively. The discussion became increasingly heated:

Jonas: *If we do not do houseleagues, we will hear from the parents.*
Jacki: *Houseleagues? They are no big deal.*
Dolores: *Yes, they are no big deal until it is you who has to organize them.*
Jonas: *Last year we had four rounds of houseleagues.*
Bonnie: *That stretches into 16 weeks with teachers supervising every recess and every morning. What on the list is going to be cut? Something has to go.*
(Professional Development Day Notes, September 13, 1992, p. 17-18)

The conversation continued:

Shauna: *We have far too much here. We have only got 36 weeks.*
Tim: *Yes, but they are only 3 week clubs.*
Shauna: *It sounds pretty good now but if we don't have some restraints, we'll soon find that we have all gone too far...*
Fran: *Unfair. Individuals know when they have gone too far...*
Bonnie: *But what is happening does not happen in isolation. We are overwhelming ourselves. Remember, we teach, too, people.*
Shauna: *I saw you last year, people...*
Maura: *Yes, we all dealt with built-in guilts...*
Cara: *I tend to over involve myself. I have a family at home. If I did everything I wanted to do, I would end up camping in a storeroom here.*
Val: *We have to think about personal and professional wellness...*
Bonnie: *What about alternating years? Houseleagues one year, clubs the next?*
(Professional Development Day Notes, September 13, 1992, p. 17-18)

While staff members like Jonas wanted to retain the school activities much as they were, staff members like Bonnie were pushing for change. The discussion continued:

Maura: *We could have out-of-school stuff [competitive sports, not houseleagues] happening the same year as clubs.*
Jonas: *It seems like we are cutting things down to the wellness of the teachers at the expense of the wellness of the students. Why do we have this all or nothing approach?*
Victor: *Are there other things which could be traded off?*
Jonas: *Why? We have teachers volunteering, deciding for themselves, offering themselves...Why should others be deciding [for them]?*
Victor: *We've kept it to a school decision. (Professional Development Day Notes, September 13, 1992, p. 18)*

The issue finally came to a vote. The staff decided club activities and sports activities would occur in alternating years.

This decision displeased you. You felt the staff had not considered the needs of all students. The decision, to you, was a "reaction to the treadmill" (Interview 13, January 14, 1992, p. 29). You requested the matter be reviewed at the next staff meeting. Before that meeting, you chatted with other staff members particularly Jonas and Marg. In the summer, you had told me your thoughts about how staff decisions were made:

T: *Like how do decisions happen in the school? I think there is some lobbying that goes on behind the scenes in schools of which not everybody is aware.*
C: *Uh huh. Did you know of any lobbying at your school?*
T: *Well, I cannot think of any specific situation at the moment but I think there is always discussions going on informally and in certain groups, too. I think there are certain teachers who get together to discuss certain things. People that you will want to talk about certain issues that you will not talk about with other teachers. (Interview 10, August 2, 1991, p. 2)*

You presented a proposal at the meeting. You appealed to the staff to consider "the school and the students and how to best balance those needs with our personal well-being" (Interview 12, December 11, 1991, p. 18; Interview 13, January 14, 1992, p. 30). Your promotion of a combination of activities was a "very significant story" of you "put[ting] yourself out on a limb, in a vulnerable position" (Interview 13, January 14, 1992, p. 30). The second vote was taken. By a margin of 14 to 10, the staff voted in favour of your proposal. The school again has a combination of intramural and club activities running throughout the year.

***Realigning the Treadmill** is a story you have constructed about your experiences as a second year teacher. You felt taking your proposal to the staff contributed to your growth as a staff member. This is why you named **Realigning the Treadmill** as one of your telling stories.*

Cheryl's Response

I found this second year story relates to the **"Finding My Spot, Finding My Niche"/"Finding My Spot"** stories and the **"On The Treadmill"** story from last year. It seems the "treadmill" has become a part of our shared language of practice. I do not know whether you have noticed but Dolores instinctively uses this expression in much the same way as we do in the "telling stories."

As I heard your story, I thought about how you have developed voice in your school context. I found a sharp contrast between you now and you at the beginning of last year. Last year you listened to all sides of an issue but rarely expressed an opinion. I also was reminded of how you are taking on more leadership and taking more risks. These are a few of my thoughts about your story.

Tim's Response

Advocating for children in the "extracurricular" situation seemed to be the primary purpose and goal for me at the time. I was very concerned and fearful I would alienate certain staff members. After careful consideration, I asked myself: "How could the staff be mad at me when I was standing up for students and their needs?" Finally, I decided the risk was worth taking. This experience ended up being a "pivotal" experience in my personal and professional growth. I see my role or "place" in the school further emerging and my "voice" is certainly getting stronger.

The Computer Room

This is one of Tim's telling stories of his second year of teaching.

One story you identified for your second year of teaching had to do with the computers and the computer room. When Rhonda left the school, the administration decided to put you in charge of the computer program. You were timetabled to teach computers to several classes and were given some preparation time.

At the first Organizational Day, you talked about your plans for the computer program. "Tim next spoke about computers. He said he would be working with students two hours a week. He suggested the notion of locating a computer lab in the seminar room rather than moving computers from classroom to classroom" (Organizational Day Notes, August 29, 1991, p. 20). As it turned out, the declining enrolment situation left two vacant classrooms in the school: one in the open area, the second, a closed classroom near your room. It was decided the French program would be put in the closed classroom, a decision which delighted Dolores. Her pleasure was shortlived; she found she was allergic to the space. It again became vacant and you envisioned it as a prime location for the computer lab.

You did not push your lab idea with the staff. On two occasions, you went to Victor and "planted the seed" (Participant Observation Notes, November 14, 1991, p. 3). You were very pleased to have a distinct space for computers in the school. You wanted to create an atmosphere in the room (Participant Observation Notes, November 14, 1991, p. 3). An idea came to you which you shared with me.

> *Tim has come up with an idea. He is proud of himself. He will host a contest for all students. What the students will have to do is draw pictures of animated computers. These illustrations will be judged. The student winning first prize wins a pair of tickets to a professional hockey game [donated by Tim]... Tim has found a good way to create interest in the computer room. (Participant Observation Notes, November 14, 1991, p. 3)*

We also talked about your efforts to make the room a reality:

C: *You have done a lot with the development of the computer program in the school.*
T: *I do not feel like I have done much...*
C: *...the total organization of a place for computers and the software organized on the walls...*
T: *Yes. A place, yes.*
C: *Timetables, too, with a few ripples?*
T: *Yes, and we have a new system now...*
C: *So, you had a lot to do with planting the seed of the computer room?*
T: *Yes. I suggested the computers should be in one place this year...(Interview 13, January 14, 1992, p. 43-44)*

You talked about your computer program plans for next year. Victor had asked you to project a budget for the program. You were working on a proposal for the Parent Association to raise funds to buy more computers and computer software.

T: *The other challenge is to come up with a proposal for the Parent Association...to upgrade the equipment in the school. It may be for the 1993-94 school year...[I need] to come up with a long term vision [for computer education] in the school...(Interview 13, January 14, 1992, p. 45-46)*

In ending your story, you reinforced the idea of computers being one of your telling stories for your second year of teaching. You explained:

T: *Computer is definitely a big story. It has taken up a lot of my time, a lot of thinking about balancing the needs of the school and the individual requests of teachers...(Interview 13, January 14, 1992, p. 43-44)*

This was why you named ***The Computer Room*** *as a story which stands out for you as a second year teacher.*

Cheryl's Response

In my telling of the **Riding the Waves** story, I mentioned how you saw your involvement with computers as a way to develop a special program to help you survive future staffing "waves." This story tells how you went about developing the program. It also shows how you took on a leadership role, a goal you had set for yourself. When you spoke about a "vision" for computers, it seemed like you would be at the school for some time translating the vision into a reality. Your mention of balance in this story also reminded you of the numerous other times when balance has been important to you, particularly in your **Realigning the Treadmill** story.

Tim's Response

It has been interesting to watch the computer story develop. From the initial discussions and decision-making to the implementation of my "plan," I have seen many interesting developments. Jonas now regularly uses the computer room and Mary Ann has made good use of the room. One of the other Grade 6 classes used the room for a period of time and another teacher has come to me for personal instruction. I have had the opportunity to work with students in Grade 2-5 and it has been a wonderful experience. Scheduling can be problematic at times, but we always work things out. I want to be around to see my vision become a reality in the next few years.

Teachers' Association Activities

This is one of Cheryl's telling stories of Tim's second year of teaching. It is followed by Tim's story: "Teachers' Association Involvement" and Cheryl's story, "Social Action."

As I began to think about Teachers' Association activities as one of your telling stories, I tried to think about when you first mentioned them to me. In your first year, I remember you talking about Leonard attending the Assembly meetings over Spring Break. I also remember Leonard, you, and I having casual conversations in the staff room and Leonard mentioning Association positions on particular issues. We also discussed the kinds of things teachers would be demanding in upcoming contract negotiations.

You had some uneasy interactions with the school board which may have fuelled your involvement in Teachers' Association activities. On one occasion, you were particularly displeased with the Payroll Department who you felt had incorrectly paid you for the seven days you did not work at the beginning of the school year. At that time, it seemed to you that they deducted $500.00 net pay from one pay cheque. This perceived difficulty confirmed for you what a principal had told you. He had said to examine your pay cheque carefully.

A second situation also displeased you. When you began your second year, you were not given any sick leave due to a computer error. This meant if you were ill in the first months of school you would lose salary. You said: "If they dock me a day of pay, I am going to hit the roof" (Interview 11, October 30, 1991, p. 7). In both these situations, you saw the school system as a "they" who were working against "you."

You organized the first Professional Development Day activity. As Council of School Representatives (C.S.R.) representative, you knew the Teachers' Association sponsored workshops, particularly one on teacher stress. You arranged the speakers.

October 22, 1991 was the first time we discussed a potential teacher strike in the district. I wrote about our conversation in the notes:

> Tim told me about the Teachers' Association stuff he heard as the C.S.R. representative for the school. He said ...a strike was looming. He said he did not want to strike but he did not want to accept an unreasonable contract offer either. (Participant Observation Notes, October 22, 1991, p. 1)

Later in October, you attended a general meeting. Strike action was seriously discussed. We talked about the issue this way:

> C: So how do you feel about the issue?
> T: Personally? Well, I can see their [the Association's] point about the political nature of the last ten years [of contract negotiations] but I think you want to have administrators who are not worried about their jobs to back you up.
> C: So how do you feel when the Board only wants to talk about money and does not want to talk about working conditions?
> T: They have created this thing for about 10 years. That is their excuse for not talking to us.
> C: ...so how do you feel about it?
> T: I am not too impressed...Rotating strikes is a reasonable idea. It is something I could live with...certainly partial income would be better than strike pay for $50.00 a day...(Interview 11, October 30, 1991, p. 8)

You spoke about the history of contract negotiations with both the Teachers' Association and the board as "theys." When you discussed current contract negotiations, you included yourself and other members of the association as an "us." When you spoke about the possible strike, you responded from an "I" position. You knew a strike would affect your lifestyle.

At the general meeting, one female member spoke to the membership about thinking about their own children as well as other people's children. As she spoke, you watched for your father's response to her comments:

> T: I was watching my dad last night and this woman said: "You know we are so worried about our students...People say we should be concerned, our students are missing school, and what not...but we have to be thinking of our own children." The woman was talking about paying her child's university education some day. I watched my dad and he sat there and he went like this [clapped]. He is right, we have to look out for our own interests, too, and our families. (Interview 11, October 30, 1991, p. 9)

You focused on your father, a very important person in your life, and his position on the issue. It seemed your father's response influenced you more than the story itself.

Since you are in your late 20s and in a serious relationship, the thoughts of soon being married, owning a home, and having a family are part of the future you are constructing for yourself. We have discussed these personal matters:

C: On a beginning teachers' salary, could you afford to buy a home, could you afford a family, that kind of stuff, is it reasonable? Do you think it is?

T: No... But do you want to hear something that really gave me a bleak picture of the future in the profession in terms of future renumeration?...I saw one teacher's pay cheque on F category maximum. The net income was only $600.00 per month more than I am currently taking home.

C: How many years of teaching experience did you say?

T: Almost 20 years of experience. That is scary. (Interview 11, October 30, 1991, p. 9)

You could see a "bleak picture" for yourself not only at the present time, but in the future as well. The kinds of future hopes and dreams you were storying could not materialize on your present or future salary. This "scary" notion further fuelled your participation in Association activities.

The strike occurred in January. You strongly identified with and supported the Teachers' Association position. You continued to use "we" numerous times: "We did have a meeting...the divide and conquer strategy did not work" and "We've given them a stronger message. They have to listen to 72.8% [voting in favour of strike action]." The "we-ness" of the Teachers' Association and the "they-ness" of the school board continued to build for you.

As the C.S.R. representative, you carried contract negotiation messages to your staff. This involvement brought you "more into the foreground with the staff" (Interview 12, December 11, 1991, p. 47). You also discussed Teachers' Association positions with Victor who was pleased you were doing "Teachers' Association stuff" (Interview 12, December 11, 1991, p. 43). In the strike situation, Victor was not only your school principal but also a member of an important strike-related committee. Victor influenced you in multiple ways.

You personally involved yourself in a number of things which promoted the Teachers' Association. When the strike was discussed on numerous radio stations, you telephoned with your opinion. You were also returning officer for the strike vote at your school and a volunteer at strike headquarters (Interview 13, January 14, 1992, p. 3).

I believe **Teachers' Association Activities** was a telling story for your second year of teaching. It stood out, not only because of the strike, but also because of your ongoing involvement with the Teachers' Association. In your second year of teaching, you strongly identified with issues which concerned teachers.

Tim's Response

I guess my choice to get involved in the "political arena" was partially motivated by personally perceived injustices in my own situation. It also fit in with my gung-ho leadership mentality at the time and I suppose I was looking for something high profile. Looking back, particularly at the strike situation, and our treatment by the school board after the strike, I can say my motives changed. I became a defender of teachers in our school, someone who would stick up for their rights when morale was low. Our letter to one of the superintendents about the Professional day cancellation was one such example. The Teachers' Association also reacted strongly. It felt good to voice our opinions in a system where teachers can become relatively anonymous. Receiving an answer, in fact, a formal apology from a superintendent, was good for our morale. It gave us a sense that we had been heard and that the board had acted irresponsibly in cancelling Professional Development days.

I am undecided as to whether I will continue as Teachers' Association representative next year. Something tells me I will not be able to leave it alone.

Cheryl's Response

In your response, it seems your knowing of why you were involved in Teachers' Association activities shifted. You began by talking about your personal situation and your desire to take on a high profile leadership responsibility. You then talked about defending the rights of teachers and helping the voices of teachers to be heard in a system where teachers feel "anonymous." You next discussed the action you and the other staff members took to address a problematic situation. It also seems you are wrestling with the time commitments demanded by Teachers' Association activities but desire the front line excitement they offer.

Teachers' Association Involvement

This is one of Tim's telling stories of his second year of teaching.

When we met for you to share your telling stories, you were having difficulty focusing. You said you had "strike on [your] mind" (Interview 13, January 14, 1992, p. 29). You then named your Teachers' Association involvement as one of your second year telling stories.

Your Teachers' Association involvement has helped your growth. You explained:

T: My Teachers Association involvement [is] helping me mature as a person, as a teacher, too, as a member of a staff group...(Interview 13, January 14, 1992, p. 29)

To you, your job on the Council of School Representatives "put you in a leadership position." We continued our conversation:

T: It carries a certain responsibility with it as well...Becoming more knowledgeable about issues which affect teachers, you get to feel inside. You are one of the teachers, one of a group of teachers...
C: ...so you do not feel on the fringe?
T: I am in the action so to speak. I have mentioned that before. Needing to be involved...(Interview 13, January 14, 1992, p. 29-30)

As you worked on the Council of School Representatives, you began to identify with other teachers and the issues affecting teachers. You saw yourself as the school person who connected Kirkpatrick teachers with other teachers in the Association.

T: It makes me feel good when teachers at our school ask me questions. They have put a lot of confidence in me, too, to be a responsible representative and I take that seriously. (Interview 13, January 14, 1992, p. 23)

You particularly emphasized a staff meeting you called before the strike. You also talked about Victor and how he had many parts to play in the strike issue.

T: He's got several hats in this...He is not the representative but he is on important committees and the principal of this school. (Interview 13, January 14, 1992, p. 13)

Prior to the meeting, you talked with Victor. He told you it was "your" meeting and he would support you throughout it. You also talked about how sensitive the strike issue was. You said you "couldn't push a certain point of view." At the same time, you were "urging people to support the local" (Interview 13, January 14, 1992, p. 21-22).

After the meeting, you received two compliments: one from Victor who praised you for "accurately reporting the information" and one from Marnie, who thanked you on behalf of the staff. Their responses to your presentation made you feel "good" (Interview 13, January 14, 1992, p. 20).

You then talked about how your Association involvement was shaping your knowing.

C: So you have come to a different sense of knowing through the C.S.R. stuff?
T: Uh huh.
C: A whole different dimension of teaching you would not have considered...
T: You bet.
C: ...would not have considered had you stayed in the school. You probably would not have known it say last year when you were not C.S.R. rep[resentative]...

T: Yes. And I think that if I was not a representative this year I would be wanting to get those details...Right. I would be wanting to know...It is me, I guess. The challenge does take extra time, no question about it, but the rewards I get back, not from the staff, but just knowing what else is going on out there makes it all worthwhile...I am an active part of what is going on... (Interview 13, January 14, 1992, p. 20-21)

You focused on the messages you carried to other teachers as well as the importance of knowing those messages yourself.

C: So I guess being on the inside, I guess you feel the issues more personally?
T: Yes. I felt a very strong sense of responsibility to not only bring the message to the staff but to bring it in a way that was not going to turn them off. It is quite delicate, you know. Somebody said we have to vote with our consciences...
C: Our consciences, not our pocketbooks?
T: Sort of...Consider the children, too. Well, it is all part of the process...(Interview 13, January 14, 1992, p. 21)

Most often when you spoke of the strike situation, you did not focus on students. Your position was based on teachers and their economic situation. When the Teachers' Association official spoke with your staff, he seemed to say what you thought. He said: "In our kind of enterprise economy, a person's worth is measured by dollars and so teachers not making as much as a lot of other people...really makes them feel a decreased sense of value to society" (Professional Development Day Notes, November 1, 1991, p. 10). His thinking reminded me of the time you told me "you were worth it [more money]" (Participation Notes, December 5, 1991, p. 5). You talked about the district's teachers living in an area with the fourth highest inflation rate in Canada with a contract which ranked sixty-fifth in terms of salaries. You said if teachers achieved their maximum demands, they would rank nineteenth in salaries, but remain fourth in terms of rate of inflation.

You also emphasized teachers as members of a collective group.

T: I tried to say there is a collective conscience out there, too. We have a responsibility not only to ourselves but to the rest of the membership...
C: So like teachers, all teachers. It is not only me and my situation, it is voting for others and their situations...
T: ...and that is tough...It is really hard to say that. But I did say: "If we vote to accept an offer that has clearly been rejected by the strike committee, the executive, and the C.S.R., we have thrown away 500 hours of our negotiating subcommittee's time." (Interview 13, January 14, 1992, p. 21)

*You identified your **Teachers' Association Involvement** as one of your telling stories. You felt your participation in Teachers' Association activities contributed to your growth as an educator in your second year of teaching.*

Cheryl's Response

As I read your and my versions of the stories, I was struck by the influence of community. I wondered whether you would have felt so strongly about the Teachers' Association if your father and Victor were not so active and prominent. I wondered how the story might have been different if you were at another school where the staff was anti-strike. I was taken by how your Teachers' Association participation was a shaping force on your knowing. I was also struck by how this story turned into a story of leadership. In it, as well as your **Computer Room** and **Realigning the Treadmill** stories, there is a strong sense of you developing a sense of voice and using your influence in the decision-making process. These were just a few of my thoughts as I thought about the Teachers' Association story.

Tim's Response

Yes, it has a lot to do with leadership, finding my place, and a sense of voice. As I mentioned before, it became a more personal fight. Yes, my father and Victor certainly did influence my decision initially to get involved, but there were intrinsic rewards involved in keeping me there. My involvement impacted on my personal and teaching time, but it has definitely helped me grow. To do for others is a rewarding experience, especially if you are passionate about it. My colleagues became my "flock" and I, their "shepherd" for a period of time. I certainly was not "sheepish" about performing my duties to the best of my ability. The nature of the Teachers' Association is changing as are teachers' needs. To be on the "front line" is to prepare for the future; not "react" to it.

Social Action

This is one of Cheryl's telling stories of Tim's second year of teaching.

After the strike, your staff was to have a Professional Development Day. As a member of the organizing committee, you knew the day had been planned months in advance. A speaker, a facility, and a caterer had been arranged. Official approval for the Professional Development Day had been issued on the first day of the teachers' strike. After the strike, the School Board informed schools that all professional development activities scheduled during the first week back at school were suspended.

The announcement infuriated you. You talked about the board's cancellation of professional development days as being a "stunt" and "a slap in the face" (Telephone Conversation, January 20, 1992, p. 1). You described the move as "bad H.R.P.R. [Human Resources Public Relations]" (Telephone Conversation, January 20, 1992, p. 1) You said you felt a strong urge to "voice your opinion with powers that be" (Telephone Conversation, January 20, 1992, p. 2). Your staff was also "disappointed" by the cancellation. The message was "not received in a positive manner." (Telephone Conversation, January 20, 1992, p. 2) In informal conversation with fellow teachers, you got the sense that some of them would not be "sitting back; taking it" (Telephone Conversation, January 20, 1992, p. 2).

As a member of the Professional Development Committee and the Teacher's Association representative, you met with the staff about the board's decision. At the staff's request, you, as their representative, telephoned the Association office. The representative listened to your staff's frustration and warned individuals "not to put their butts on the line." The Association would act on behalf of all teachers (Notes from Telephone Conversation, January 21, 1991, p. 1)

You and other staff members were not content to have the matter settled at a distance. You and your colleagues had noted "contradictions in the system" (Telephone Conversation, January 21, 1991, p. 1) Your staff decided to send a strong letter to one of the senior superintendents of schools, signed by all staff, including the administration. You shared the contents of the staff's draft letter with me. It outlined the disruption of professional development activities and its negative effect on teacher morale. Program continuity, the topic of the professional development day, was also mentioned as a topic which would soon become policy, a topic your staff had not discussed yet. The "chastising" letter ended with a statement that teachers' professional development at the school level should occur with "minimum interference" from others (Telephone Conversation, January 30, 1991, p. 1).

In the midst of the cancellation, the telephone calls to the Teachers' Association, and the drafting of the letter, some of your fellow teachers teased you. They told you: "You'll never make it to Superintendent this way." You replied: "I am not thinking about a principalship for some time." (Telephone Conversation, January 21, 1991, p. 2) Your fellow teachers were sharing their professional knowledge with you. They were telling you that you would never get ahead in the system by criticizing the system. In your response, you told them you had things you believed in and you were willing to stand up for your beliefs.

I believe you came to an important knowing in this situation. Prior to this incident, you and I had discussed your knowing of the political nature of the school system. You told me:

> I have not experienced a lot of it [politics] at the school level...I hear things from people who have certain connections with other people in the system. It is the stories I hear. I do not have any personal experiences. (Interview 13, January 12, 1992, p. 9)

In this situation, you came to know more about the ways of the school system from personal experience. You said you "did not feel like you have much power in a teaching position...or even as a school staff" in the school system (Notes from Telephone Conversation, January 21, 1991, p. 2)

I believe this story is one of your telling stories for your second year. It unpacks one of your significant experiences as a second year teacher.

Afternote: At the rescheduled Professional Development Day, Tim said the staff received a "letter of apology" from the one of the superintendents regarding the cancelled Professional Development day.

Tim's Response

As I stated in a previous response, it felt good to voice our opinions in a system where teachers can easily begin to feel powerless. Whether the board has learned its lesson remains to be seen. I like to see it as a successful attempt to be heard. Indeed, an apology was sent to the staff by the superintendent. As for the future, the Teachers' Association needs to address this issue so it does not happen again.

Cheryl's Response

It seems having your voice and fellow teachers' voices heard in this situation satisfied you. It is interesting how much easier it is for people to communicate as individuals to individuals in particular situations as opposed to directives being acted upon individuals in a universal manner. I wondered how you would story the lesson the board was to learn in the strike situation. The powerlessness of teachers which you described is related to the anonymity of teachers you referred to in a previous response. It is interesting you refer to 6000+ teachers as "powerless" and "anonymous." Your comments seem to point to your knowledge of the place of teachers in the school system.

CHAPTER V

BENITA'S "TELLING STORIES" OF HER FIRST YEAR OF TEACHING

Notes to the Reader: I have condensed the stories since I presented them to Benita. What follows is a part of a letter I wrote to Benita which explained the story exchange and how I put her first collection of "telling stories" together.

In this package, I present you with your versions and my versions of your telling stories. The stories we tell are about your first four months of experience as a substitute teacher. Your stories appear in italics and my stories appear in regular type. I have used bold-faced print for procedural things to guide us through the set of stories.

I have put our stories together in a collection. You will find the following stories which you shared: "The Safe Day," "Ownership," "Children's Stories of "The Good Teacher," "My Half Day in Hell," and "Learning To Do Beginnings." You will also find what seemed to me to be the telling stories of your first four months as a teacher. I have called my versions of your stories: "I'm Going To Teach," Substitute Teaching as a "String of Beads," Riverview School as "Home," The "Very Tough Day," and "On the Outskirts." When we told versions of similar stories, I placed them in the collection back to back. After each story, I have left spaces for each of us to respond either to the story shared or the response offered.

Sharing telling stories should lead us into further conversations about your teaching experiences. After we have a written response to the stories, we can then have an oral conversation about the stories and the research process in general. I suspect you and I will find many more topics to consider as we collaboratively explore your experiences as a beginning teacher.

Benita's First Collection of "Telling Stories": Benita's First Four Months of Teaching as a Substitute Teacher (Written and Responded To By the End of January, 1992)

"I'm Going To Teach"

This is one of Cheryl's telling stories of Benita's first four months of substitute teaching. It is followed by Benita's "Safe Day" and "Ownership" stories.

In your first journal entry, you were very excited about the prospect of getting your first call to work as a substitute teacher. You viewed this substitute teaching opportunity as your first chance at "real teaching" (Journal Entry, September 17, 1991, p. 1). "Real teaching" is a theme from your practicum year at the university. In your Language Arts class, you named The Velveteen Rabbit as your favourite story. You chose it because the rabbit's story reminded you of your story. The Velveteen Rabbit became real when he was loved. Similarly, you said: "Mine is the story of becoming a teacher: being loved, becoming real." "Real teaching" is something you also wrote about last year in your fourth year education journal. At that time, you found it difficult to return to university after practicum. You wrote: "Going back to university [was] difficult this year. I want[ed] to be in a classroom, being a real teacher" (Fourth Year Education Journal, p. 1). When you received your first substitute teacher assignment, I sensed you viewed this as your first opportunity to be "real" and in a classroom with students. In your current journal, you wrote: "This morning I received my first call to sub[stitute]. After I got off the phone, my little heart was pumping---Today I'm going to teach" (Journal Entry, September 17, 1991, p. 1). Your references to "real teaching" and the anticipation of being able "to teach" alerted me to a narrative thread which has run through our written and verbal conversations. I have reconstructed a story about how you would like "to teach" from the things I have heard you saying. What I am going to do now is give you back your story and the sense I made of it. In the process, I will discuss an image which I believe you hold about teaching: the image of teaching as personal relationships with students.

Our conversations about teaching continued in your journal. I asked if you could tell me more about what you were thinking about when you said you were going "to teach." You replied: "I guess I just meant I was actually going to use my skill. Do a job, maybe even apply my knowledge, be a part of a classroom" (Journal Entry, November 8, 1991, p. 1). In this comment, you explained teaching as a job where you could use your knowledge and skills. You also wanted to be "part of a classroom." This reminded me of your earlier comments as a fourth year education student. I again sensed you associated "real" teaching with being in a classroom with students. You saw a teacher and a class of students as comprising a classroom whole. When you wanted to be "part of" a classroom, you wanted to be with students who were also "part of" of a classroom.

In a further journal entry, you focused on your experience of teaching in a particular school. You were to be a substitute teacher for Steve, a teacher who you knew as a student at university. Steve taught a Learning Disabilities class and you looked forward to this new teaching experience in his classroom. However, the day in Steve's class was not as stimulating as you had anticipated. Steve had organized the day so well that it was "easy" for you to replace him. When you began to write about this experience, it seemed you had experienced a different notion of teaching than you had anticipated:

> Because of the easy day, I felt sort of guilty and disappointed that I just supervised the kids. It was an easy afternoon for being paid. But I was disappointed because I really didn't get a chance to

> "teach." Don't get me wrong, I was able to help now and then but the work the students did was mostly independent...I just wish I could use my own skills, knowledge, and ideas in my own class... (Journal Entry, September 30, 1991, p. 12)

When you expressed your disappointment in this day, I heard you making distinctions between teaching and supervision. You thought there was more to teaching than supervising students who were doing work planned by another teacher. You wanted to be connected to the students and their activities in more than a helping role. You wanted an ongoing relationship with students in your "own class." This reminded me of your earlier comment about being "part of a classroom," but in this case, you wanted ownership of the class. I wondered whether you were thinking you would like to shape and live your own experiences as a teacher by using your "own skills, knowledge, and ideas" rather than having your experiences shaped by other teachers and lived by you.

Annie Davies, your friend and former co-operating teacher, responded in your journal to your feelings of disappointment: "I think that teachers will often set up a SAFE DAY for the sub[stitute] and the kids...and in doing that you [Benita] feel more like a supervisor... " (Annie's Response to Benita's Entry, September 30, 1991, p. 12). Annie felt you were "seeking the interactions of real teaching." (Annie's Response to Benita's Entry, September 30, 1991, p. 12) Again, the expression, "real teaching" entered our three-way conversations. This prompted me to travel back in your fourth year education journal where you and Annie had previously engaged in written conversations. There you wrote about being introduced to Annie's class of students and your reflections on yourself as a teacher:

> I was introduced to Annie's new class as a real teacher...I guess it still really amazes me that I am a real teacher...It is important that they do see me as a teacher because it reassures me that yes, I am a teacher....back at the university, I remove myself from classroom life. University is so comfortable and I can play student...(Fourth Year Education Journal, p. 2)

I also found an envelope Annie had inserted in your journal. In it was a picture of you on a field trip with some of Annie's students. On the envelope, Annie had written: "Picture of a 'real teacher' with 16 kids!" (Fourth Year Education Journal, p. 5). Later in your journal, I found where Annie invited you to work with her students. You wrote: "Annie asked me if I wanted to do more teacher stuff [more direct interaction with the children]. My first and honest reaction to myself: 'My God, what am I going to do with a whole group [of students]?'" (Fourth Year Education Journal, p. 7).

These selected excerpts from your fourth year education journal provided me with more background on your image of teaching and "real teaching." In the past and in the present, you discussed "real teaching" in terms of you having personal interactions with students. In both of your journals, relationships with the students were a large part of what you meant when you said you are going "to teach."

In one substitute teaching situation, you had the freedom to construct a day plan for a class. You welcomed this opportunity and saw yourself as an authentic teacher. In this context, you were able to construct and live your own story as a teacher. I turn to the explanation you offered of the day in your journal:

> Friday I felt more like a real teacher. Because Betty did not plan to be away two days, we talked on the phone about possible things I could do but she also left it very open so I could do whatever I wanted. I could decide the order in which to do things...I did things my own way. (Journal Entry, October 11, 1991, p. 17-18)

This arrangement pleased you. You constructed your story for the day and taught "[your] own way." For example, you started a journal activity with the students. In introducing the activity, you talked about the purpose of journalling. You also shared with the students your personal experience of journal writing. You summed up your day's experience by stating: "Friday, I had...ownership and it felt great [to be a teacher]!" (Journal Entry, October 11, 1991, p. 18). When you said you felt "ownership," it seemed to me you saw yourself as a teacher who had something to contribute to the students' stories. You were able to make personal connections with the students and their knowing. I sensed this was a sharp contrast to your trying to play someone else's part and feeling like a substitute, one who was not doing the "real" thing.

In a letter (October 23, 1991) I wrote you, I asked you how you would like to teach. You answered in your journal:

> The way I would like to teach is to have an open honest relationship with the kids... I would like to teach in a way that transitions and routines are established with ease. I would like a personal, close relationship when I teach. (Journal Entry, October 24, 1991, p. 22-23)

You again talked about teaching in terms of relationships with students. You described the relationships as being "open," "honest," "personal," and "close." I saw all of these qualities relating to an earlier situation where you felt "real."

Your response in this particular situation also reminded me of one of your earlier journal entries where you talked about substitute teaching at the school where you had your practicum experience:

> Being at Riverview, I didn't have to deal with too many discipline problems. A part of this may be that I am already an established teacher and personality with the students. Sure, some students tried not to do their work and the volume level was higher than normal but sometimes noise is a sign of productive work. But a quick nod or eye would get people to work. Just like a regular teacher. (Journal Entry, September 27, 1991, p. 10-11)

I could see connections between your being "real" in an earlier situation and being "regular" in this situation. When I read back in the notes, I was not surprised to find that both these experiences occurred at Riverview School, the school where you did your student teaching. The students knew you and you knew them. I found this familiarity evident in the nonverbal communication you had with the students: "A quick nod or eye would get people to work." It seemed your storied presence in the school helped to free you from teaching as supervision and enabled you to take on a story of teaching more closely aligned with your image of "real" teaching. As before, personal relationships with the students were an integral part of teaching for you.

In January, you particularly storied your future as a teacher. You said you would need "personal involvement and ownership" in your teaching (Interview 7, January 3, 1992, p. 20). You specifically drew comparisons between substitute teaching and regular teaching. While you talked about a sense of "figuring out as you go along" in both situations, you felt there was more "acting on impulse" in substitute teaching. You talked about regular teaching in the following way:

B: In regular teaching, there is more of a story, not just little flashes. It would be connected.
C: You yearn for connection?
B: Yes, I think I do. (Interview 7, January 3, 1992, p. 20)

You wanted relationships which bring you together with students. You also wanted to share an ongoing story with the students. Again, you expressed your image of teaching in terms of relational possibilities and connectedness.

You came to realize the story you were living as a substitute teacher was not the one you would write for yourself. You did not have "close," "personal" relationships with students. Your teaching was more shaped by the situations where you were placed than by you. You most often followed other teachers' plans and had few opportunities to make personal connections with students. As you began to talk about your substitute teaching experiences, your personal image of teaching and how you would like "to teach," became more apparent to me. You often talked about teaching in terms of having personal relationships with students. In this story, I have tried to capture what I heard you saying when you said you are going "to teach."

Benita's Response

My being "real" is very evident at Riverview School. It is the story of me being loved. I feel real at Riverview because I am the "loved" substitute teacher. As a substitute, I live the lives of all sorts of teachers. I momentarily step into other people's shoes. My personal image of teaching is having a close, shared relationship with students, relaxed and easy in its manner. I try to let the students see me as a person just as I try to see them as people. This makes the classroom more humanistic and "real."

Cheryl's Response

I am constantly reminded of how important your Alternative practicum experience at Riverview School was for you. I find it interesting how Riverview continues to be an important place for you. Your response helped me further understand your notion of feeling "real."

"Safe Day"

This is one of Benita's telling stories of her first four months of substitute teaching.

The "safe day" has become an expression which you, Annie, and I have used in your journal and in our conversations. You named the "safe day" as an important story for you, a narrative thread woven throughout your journal and in our discussions. In addition, you identified particular events which contributed to your "safe day" story. You suggested I consult your journal and the interview transcripts for supporting details. The story which follows is my reconstruction of your telling of your "safe day" story.

As I went back in your journal entries searching for safe day entries, I came upon your story of substitute teaching at a school where you had never taught before. You replaced a teacher who you knew. Steve taught a learning disabilities class. You *expected Steve's class to be challenging. However, the day was an "easy day" because Steve had set everything up so well for you (Journal Entry, September 30, 1991, p. 12). You said you were disappointed because you "just supervised kids." Annie and you had a conversation about your feelings in the journal. Annie called your experience a "safe day." She explained it this way: "I think that teachers will often set up a SAFE DAY for the sub[stitute] and the kids... and in doing that you [Benita] feel more like a supervisor..." (Annie's Response to Benita's Entry, September 30, 1991, p. 12). Annie then talked about how you wanted the "interaction of real teaching." This was how the "safe day" became part of our three-way conversations and a part of our language.*

As time passed, you were experiencing many safe days where you felt you were only supervising students. On one occasion, you wrote: "Sometimes I feel like I walk into a class. I do what I was told. I watch and discipline and then I go home" (Journal Entry, October 11, 1991, p. 18).

On November 2, 1991, you particularly labelled one of your experiences a "safe day." You described your experience of substituting for a school librarian this way: "I only had to read a story to three classes and supervise book exchanges. I helped the library assistant shelve books, etc." (Journal Entry, November 2, 1991, p. 26). In this situation, you were again involved in supervision types of activities. When you particularly noted this day as a "safe day," I wrote a question in your journal asking about your experience of safe days. You replied:

> *The safe day...I guess you could say I have had many of them. They are good in a sense because the day does not require me to do a lot of pre-planning or preparation. But I think it comes down to me having no ownership to the things that will go on in the day... (Journal Entry, November 20, 1991, p. 37)*

In this journal entry, you talked about not feeling any "ownership" of the day. Ownership implied making connections between yourself, the students, and the activities going on in the classroom. This comment was similar to one you made in an earlier interview when you referred to safe days as being "superficial, very superficial" (Interview 3, November 10, 1991, p. 3). Again, it seemed safe days involved interactions at a surface level as opposed to interactions where you felt personally connected to the students and the shared activities.

In the course of experiencing safe days, you came to realize there were differences between safe days. You decided some of them were more satisfying than others. You wrote about your experiences of safe days: "Some safe days are better than others. I like the days where it is required of me to have a lot of interaction with the students. These are the days that seem to fly by" (Journal Entry, Response to Questions, November 20, 1991, p. 37).

You seemed to be coming to a different knowing of safe days. You were able to think more favourably about them when you were actively involved with the students. On the other hand, you felt less favourably about safe days when you were in a supervisory role with distance between you and the students. You were beginning to restory your stance toward safe days. You were able to say that some safe days were "better than others." Yet, you were ever cognizant of your personal need for interaction and ownership.

A second question I asked about safe days had to do with "unsafe days" and what they might be. You described an unsafe day in the following manner:

> *An unsafe day...I think is when the routine of the classroom becomes very different. In a way, every time a sub[stitute teacher] comes into a class, it is an unsafe day for the children. They don't take risks or try as hard as they would if their regular teacher was there. (Journal Entry, Response to Question, November 20, 1991, p. 37)*

When you wrote this response in your journal, Annie Davies responded to your response to my question. She wrote: "Perhaps the safe day plans are for everyone's safety?" (Annie Davies, Journal Response, November 20, 1991, p. 37). At this point, you began to think about the relationship between safe days and safety. You reflected on your own substitute teaching experiences and said you were not sure whether you had experienced an unsafe day "for myself, that is." (Journal Response, November 20, 1991, p. 37) You wondered about your Tree Ridge experience (another one of your and my stories!) and whether it might have been unsafe. You decided it was not totally unsafe because you did have a day plan to follow. You reflected on safety from both the teacher's and the students' perspectives. You said all days when substitute teachers are in classrooms are "in a sense" emotionally unsafe days for students.

On November 8, 1991, you substituted in a school where two team teachers were away at a conference. You and another substitute teacher became team partners. Both of you were unfamiliar with the situation and a mix-up in routines occurred. The situation was very confusing for everyone. You learned a lesson from the experience:

> *I learned an important lesson or I should say I am reminded of one. Children like routine and when it changes abruptly, the children become upset and confused. They become restless. It was difficult for the kids because both their teachers were away. The two constants that the kids could count on had vanished. (Journal Entry, November 17, 1992, p. 32-33)*

In this excerpt, you also modified your stance toward safe days. You again considered the safe day in terms of physical and emotional safety for the students: "Maybe that is why the teacher creates the safe day. Something the kids are used to, something that is in the routine, so they don't freak out" (Journal Entry, November 17, 1991, p. 33).

In another situation, you also considered the students' physical and emotional safety in relation to the safe day. You were working with students who were also confused in their teacher's absence. One student in particular was randomly hitting other children. You took the student aside and had a chat with him. He told you his day was different because his teacher was not there. You and he conversed about what the child would have to do "to make it through the day" (Journal Entry, November 23, 1991, p. 42). This experience also helped you to understand safe days as a way to provide security for the children. You wrote: "From spending the day with these children, I really saw and learned the need for consistency" (Journal Entry, November 23, 1991, p. 42). In this excerpt, you were again reconstructing your stance toward safe days. Again, your knowing in different situations enabled you to see the value of safe days from the students' perspectives.

As you lived various safe day experiences, you were able to think about safe days in many ways. In a later interview, for example, you talked about your knowing of safe days from multiple perspectives:

B: I've learned safe days are not just for me, but for the kids. [They] maintain continuity for the kids, the school...[I've learned] how much the kids rely on that continuity.

C: Safe days are not much challenge for you though?

B: No. Mind you, it [a safe day] does not challenge the kids either. It is not supposed to. But it is there; it is constant. They [the teachers] are trying to keep the continuity there as much as possible and I think that is really important. (Interview 7, January 3, 1992, p. 14-15)

The safe day is a story you have identified. As the year has progressed, you have constructed and reconstructed your stance toward safe days as you have continued to live safe day experiences as a substitute teacher. You initially disliked safe days because they limited you to supervision. As time passed, you experienced some safe days where you had more satisfying relationships with the students. You also had some substitute teaching experiences where students felt confused and possibly unsafe in their teachers' absences. When you considered safe days from the students' perspectives, you were able to appreciate the consistency, routine, and security they offered. You recognized that safe days will never be ownership days (another one of your telling stories) for you, but you were coming to terms with them.

Safe days, to you, were preferable to days when children feel "unsafe" in the absence of their regular teachers.

Cheryl's Response

This story you chose to tell did not surprise me. You often talked about your experiences of safe days in our conversations. What did surprise me is the big part the language of practice played in your telling. Annie, you, and I discussed a "safe day" as if it was an expression which all teachers would understand. I suspect all teachers would relate to the experience and the planning of such an experience, but I do not think teachers have a common language to express their knowing. What we did in our conversations and you did in naming your story, was explore the knowing and in a sense, create a language to express the knowing.

These were some of the thoughts which came to my mind when you named "Safe Day" as one of your telling stories.

Benita's Response

I really do believe safe days are a part of every teacher's story, whether or not is it known to them. You are right in saying I did not like the safe day at first because it put me in a supervisory position rather than in a facilitator position. This led to long, boring days. As time passed, I began to see the importance of the safe day, not only for myself, but for the students and the classroom teachers. Some teachers do not care to have something important going on in their classrooms in their absence so they plan simple lessons and continue with specific routines until their return. By keeping things simple and routine, the children take responsibility and function as close to normal as possible. The less change the better and even then I have witnessed that just the change in teachers is enough to cause difficulties for some children. For myself as a substitute teacher, the planned safe day requires little preparation and sometimes even little knowledge. This, in turn, is expected because, how can a new teacher prepare in such short notice?

The ***"Safe Day"*** *story is an important topic and by languaging about it with our colleagues, it may become general knowledge and a new consciousness will arise. Teachers will then reflect on their own experiences and how they invite substitute teachers into their classrooms.*

"Ownership"

This is one of Benita's telling stories from her first four months of substitute teaching.

When you began substitute teaching, you expected you would be "real teaching" (Journal Entry, September 17, 1991, p. 1). "Real teaching," to you, meant having "open," "honest," "close," "personal" relationships with the students (Journal Entry, October 24, 1991, p. 22). However, in the substitute teaching situation, you found that most of your days were safe days, days where you often found yourself supervising students' activities. On one occasion, however, you had an experience where you felt ownership: "I felt 'real' again. Friday was different than other sub[stitute teaching] days because I was in control; I was knowledgeable. I wasn't playing an improvisational game. I was me!" (Journal Entry, October 11, 1991, p. 18).

You felt ownership on this occasion because the regular teacher was unexpectedly absent for a second day. She did not have a day plan for the second day and trusted you to construct the day's activities. In this situation, you felt "real." This was a similar remark to many comments you made in your fourth year education journal. In your journal last year, you wrote about a "real teacher" as one who is "in the classroom." (Fourth Year Education Journal, p. 1) In this Friday teaching experience this year, you were no longer following another teacher's plans. It was you who were constructing the day's activities for the class and in this situation, you felt "real." In sharp contrast to this particular substitute teaching experience were some of your other days. You described many of your other experiences as days where:

> *I walk into a class. I do what I am told. I watch and discipline and then I go home. I do not feel like the class is mine. I guess what I am trying to say is I have no ownership. I am doing someone else's agenda and I am beginning to miss my own... (Journal Entry, October 11, 1991, p. 18)*

The part which made the particular Friday's experience different for you was your sense of ownership. You said: "Friday I had that ownership and it felt great!" (Journal Entry, October 11, 1991, p. 18).

Your discovery of the importance of ownership was a bittersweet awakening. At the same time as you recognized your need for ownership, you also realized it was difficult for you to feel ownership in a substitute teaching position. You talked about this knowing in one of our interviews:

B: *I need ownership...I don't think I can get it from a substitute teaching position. It's like getting a snapshot, a frame from a movie, but I'm never there for the whole movie. (Interview 3, November 10, 1991, p. 4)*

This comment was similar to an earlier one where you saw most of your substituting experiences as "improvisation(s)" (Journal Entry, October 11, 1991, p. 18). In contrast to these experiences were your ownership experiences where you felt connected to the class and the sense of "real teaching" (Journal Entry, September 17, 1991, p. 1). For the most part, you have experienced safe days where you have "no ownership of the things which happen in a day" (Journal Entry, November 20, 1991, p. 37). In a similar situation, you also reflected on your desire for ownership and your experience of safe days. In your journal, you wrote:

> *I realize that it is difficult for me to have ownership because they [the students] do not belong to me. I am only a glint in the classroom's story. For me to gain the ownership of the class, it would require a dialogue between myself and he teacher, a communication system so that I can learn the classroom story and how I fit in. (Journal Entry, November 20, 1991, p. 37)*

In January, we discussed situations where you felt your safe day experiences became ownership days for you. You felt you were more able to develop a sense of ownership when you and the students were together for some time. A specific example was your Friday experience where you unexpectedly were with a class for two consecutive days. You also talked about communicating with the teacher for whom you would be substitute teaching. Again, your Friday experience came to mind because in that situation, you had open communication with the teacher who left you to decide the activities in her absence. You also cited an example where you replaced a school librarian for four days. You were able to work closely with the students in the research process and note their progress. You returned to the school later when the librarian was evaluating the assignments. Again, you felt attached to the research project and to the students because you had lived part of the research story with them. You and the librarian were able to cooperatively discuss the evaluation of the students' work (Interview 7, January 3, 1992, p. 12). This was an opportunity for you to feel a sense of continuity.

This particular librarian experience helped you think about continuity and its relationship to your desire for ownership. You said when you are with the students over a period of time you develop a sense of continuity. You also said when you have an opportunity to mutually shape the students' activities in cooperation with the regular teacher, you develop a sense of ownership. In these particular situations, you said: "I become the continuum; I connect" (Interview 7, January 3, 1992, p. 12).

You were more able to make connections among the students, the regular teacher, and yourself. This greatly helped you develop a sense of ownership.

One specific story you told was your experience of substitute teaching for Tracy, a teacher at Mountain Ridge School with whom you had worked previously at Riverview. Tracy always requested that you substitute for her. She had a high needs class and she shared her stories about the children and her challenges with you. Tracy saw you as someone with whom she can trust her stories and her situation (Interview 7, January 3, 1992, p. 23). Tracy recognized you as someone who would make the connections with her and her students in her absence. She also created a space for you as a substitute teacher to make the connections. On one occasion, you telephoned her at home to discuss a particular problem between two boys in her classroom. Tracy thanked you for calling. She told you the school resource group was planning to meet about both boys' behaviours. She said one behaviour you had identified had not occurred in some time and was important information for her to take to the resource meeting. Tracy helped you situate your experience with the boys in a larger context. You also provided her with a knowledge of a situation which she had missed. In this way, you were making the connections, becoming "the continuum" in the situation you shared with Tracy and her students (Interview 7, January 3, 1992, p. 17).

We also discussed how you would story your future as a teacher. As might be expected, you talked about having your own class. You said you were "eager for personal involvement and ownership" (Interview 7, January 3, 1992, p. 20). You also compared and contrasted regular teaching and substitute teaching. In both situations, you felt there was an element of "figuring out as you go along" (Interview 6, January 3, 1992, p. 20). However, substitute teaching, to you, involved more "acting on impulse" (Interview 6, January 3, 1992, p. 20). You felt this way because you were working with so many unknowns in substitute teaching. This "acting on impulse" approach to substitute teaching reminded me of your earlier comments about substitute teaching as improvisation. Our conversation continued:

B: *In regular teaching, there is more of a story, not just little flashes. It would be connected.*
C: *You yearn for connection?*
B: *Yes, I guess I do. (Interview 7, January 3, 1992, p. 20)*

"Ownership" *was a story which was woven throughout our written and verbal conversations in your first four months as a substitute teacher. You identified it as a telling story of your teaching experiences.*

Cheryl's Response

When you named "**Ownership**" as a story, I was reminded of how taken-for-granted having one's own class is. Your story reinforced for me the importance of a sense of attachment, a sense of mutual belonging between a teacher and a particular group of students. In an earlier story, I wrote about an image of teaching I believe you hold and express in your practices. This brought me to thinking about the substitute teaching position in general and how difficult it is for you to express your particular image of teaching and experience a sense of ownership as a substitute teacher. However, in particular situations, it seemed you were able to overcome some of the difficulties by building relationships with particular teachers and their classes. I found it interesting how these collaborative relationships emerged and how everyone, the regular teachers, you, and the students benefitted from them. Even in these less than ideal situations, relationships were central to making your experiences as a substitute teacher more satisfying for you.

Benita's Response

Substitute teaching does require me to "figure" as I go along. I am figuring out what is one particular classroom's story, the children's stories, and the teacher's story. Some teachers with whom I have a personal relationship help me by sharing their stories with me. Ownership occurs when I am the creator or the director of the classroom story.

Substitute Teaching Experience as a "String of Beads"

This is one of Cheryl's telling stories of Benita's first months as a substitute teacher.

In November, you and I talked about journalling. You said both you and Annie appreciated the responses I made in your journals. You said you "liked to be probed a bit." I replied that I also like to be questioned because it gets beyond "the superficial level." You then said: "In some ways, [my journal] is still superficial...There is some meat there, but I need some more..." (Interview 3, November 10, 1991, p. 2).

You were feeling your writing was brushing the surface of your experiences. You were not writing deeply about your experiences. This prompted me to talk about the difference between descriptive and narrative text. I said descriptive text relates the series of events and narrative text "gets inside the events...seeks meaning for the events" (Chatman, 1990). I talked about there being a place for both kinds of text in a journal. Our conversation continued:

C: There's a piece [of a journal] that is descriptive. It gives a sense: "I went to this school, I did this..."

B: Yes, I am trying to give you a sense of what went on...However, I feel [my substitute teaching experience] is like a string of beads. Each bead is a different shape; a collection of beads...just a string with nothing tying them in, no closure...

C: You see the journal as a way to get the double knotting, a way to bring the beads together?

B: ...a way to tie the ends...

C: ...a way to make sense of it [the substitute teaching experience]?

B: Right now, [my experiences] are so superficial. Of course, sometimes I am only in a class for part of a day...(Interview 3, November 10, 1991, p. 3)

You were finding it difficult to write about your substitute teaching experiences. It seemed like each of your experiences was distinct and lacked connection to other experiences. You seemed to be saying you were lacking meaningful continuity between your experiences. This made it difficult for you to write at a level other than a "superficial" one. I went back in your journal and in our interview transcripts to learn more about what might be an image of substitute teaching experiences as disconnected beads. I found there were two ways I could approach the sharing of your experiences. A descriptive way was to present a series of experiences in a continuous fashion to represent "the string of beads." This gives the sense, as you noted, of going to a particular school and filling a particular position. A narrative way of approaching your experiences was to look at each experience, each bead so to speak, in terms of its distinctiveness and its relationship to how you see yourself teaching. This gives the sense of the kinds of things you experienced as a substitute teacher and the sense you made of your situations in relation to your knowing. I will begin the story by presenting the "string of beads" and the meaning I sensed from our conversations. I then will unpack each experience individually and look at your work in relation to your image of substitute teaching experiences as a "string of beads."

First, I present a "string of beads":

September 30, 1991	"I just supervised kids. It was an easy afternoon for being paid. But I was disappointed because I really didn't get a chance 'to teach'..." (Journal Entry, September 30, 1991, p. 12)
October 8, 1991	"The aide tried to deal with the boys and at times they both settled into work. I felt like a referee." (Journal Entry, October 8, 1991, p. 16)

October 11, 1991	"Sometimes I feel like I walk into a class, I do what I am told, I watch and discipline and then I go home...Stuff I do does not belong to me. I am doing someone else's agenda and I am beginning to miss my own." (Journal Entry, October 11, 1991, p. 18)
November 2, 1991	"On Friday, I subbed for the librarian. The day was a safe day. I only had to read a story to three classes and supervise book exchanges." (Journal Entry, November 2, 1991, p. 26)
November 8, 1991	"On Tuesday, I taught a Grade 1 class. The day was laid out; it was a busy day..."(Journal Entry, November 8, 1991, p. 27)
November 10, 1991	"I subbed for the Assistant Principal and filled in...jutting in and out of many classrooms...a one-shot day...not doing anything that is my own..." (Interview 3, November 10, 1991, p. 11)

In this string of experiences, you were involved in different school contexts. From day to day, you often did not know where you would be placed. 6:00 A.M. was the usual time when you found out your destination for the day. Furthermore, each day or half day represented a different set of circumstances with which to become familiar. Often you knew no one else on the school staffs. Occasionally no one welcomed you to the school nor offered to answer your questions. You did not know school floor plans nor where equipment was stored. If you were required to teach another class, you had to search for the location. You also had to figure out the routine of how to get there while providing maximum supervision for the students. You were responsible for the students' behaviour and safety in class or in transition between classes. Even when you returned to the same school November 2, November 8, and November 10, there was little similarity in the teaching assignments. On November 2, you substituted for a school librarian. On November 8, you replaced a Grade 1 teacher. On November 10, you filled the position of an Assistant Principal. Each of these positions involved different tasks. You found yourself doing everything from helping young students put on their coats, to working with the Dewey Decimal System, to providing relief teaching time to most teachers in the school. When these experiences are viewed continuously, they have little in common. The schools often differ; the teachers differ; the job descriptions differ. Most of all, the students differ. Their only similarity was you being placed in each situation. Hence, I got a sense of the "string of beads" effect to your image of substitute teaching. I could see where you felt your experiences were isolated and lacking in connection to one another.

I will now focus on your experiences individually. In an earlier story, I told my version of how you would like to teach and explored an image you appear to hold about teaching, that is, teaching as relationships with students. I am going to repeat how you said you would like to teach because I believe it frames the background for this story:

> The way I would like to teach is to have an open honest relationship with the kids...I would like to teach in a way that transitions and routines are established with ease. I would like a personal, close relationship when I teach. (Journal Entry, October 24, 1991, p. 22-23)

In your September 30, 1991 experience, you talked about your substitute teaching placement as "just supervising kids." "Supervising kids" was very different from your personal image of teaching. In this situation, you did not have the close relationships with the students. There was a distance between you and the students as you "supervised" their work. In this situation, I saw a connection between supervision and your earlier reference to your experiences being "superficial." Both words have the same prefix, meaning "above, over." In supervising students, you looked "over" how they were doing their work. You were not engaged in the experience with the students. In "superficial" experiences, you were physically there, on the surface, so to speak, but you were not a part of the experiences. Therefore, it seemed you found the meaning of these experiences hard to grasp. This is the sense I made of this excerpt as a "bead" in a "collection."

In your October 8, 1991 experience, I again got the sense that you were outside the situation. You were working with two boys who were in conflict. You did not know the children, their stories, or the discipline story for the class. You felt you were a "referee" in this situation. The notion of referee did not fit with your image of teaching as personal relationships with students. You wanted to have "routines and transitions established with ease" in your classroom. In this situation, you did not have routines established with ease. The situation involved conflict. In the absence of stories for the students and discipline for the class, you assumed the position of a "referee," one who arbitrates the rules. Again you felt you were looking in on the situation rather than being an active part of it. This is the sense I made a second "bead" in your "collection."

In your October 11, 1991 experience, you were feeling there was more to being a teacher than being a disciplinarian. Again, you conveyed a sense of looking in on situations---I watch---rather than being a part of situations. You also recognized "stuff does not belong to me." You lacked ownership for the things you were doing as a substitute teacher. The "agenda" and your teaching story were being written by someone else. Your substitute teaching experiences were becoming increasingly removed from your image of teaching as relationships with students. This also reminded me of your earlier comments about superficiality. You were superficially living a story someone else had written for you as a substitute teacher. The story had a flat, generic quality to it; it did not fit with you, a "real" teacher. This is the way I made sense of the third "bead" in your "collection" of experiences.

On November 2, 1991, you talked about another experience, this time as a school librarian. You referred to the day as "a safe day." What appeared to make the day safe were the supervision type activities in which you were engaged. Again, you were lacking connection with the students. You were doing tasks which differed from your personal image of teaching. Hence, this experience as a school librarian became another distinct bead contributing to your image of your substitute teaching experiences as a "string of beads."

On November 8, 1991, you were a substitute teacher in a Grade 1 class. When you talked about the day being "laid out," I was reminded of an earlier situation where you felt you were living someone else's "agenda" and not your own. In this situation, you again were following a plan determined by someone else. I could see how the sense of busy-ness made your meaning for the experiences "superficial." I could see how this experience would be another bead in your collection contributing to your image of substitute teaching.

On November 10, 1991, you were a substitute teacher for an Assistant Principal who provided release time for most classes. In this position, you worked in several classrooms with several groups of students. You constantly moved from place to place not having time to make connections with anything or anybody. This situation again suggested that you watch over the students rather than work with them. When you talked about it being a "one-shot day," I thought you meant that it was a day which did not connect with your other days. You also talked about the day as one where you lacked ownership. This reminded me of your earlier comments where you felt you were living someone else's story, rather than your own.

I have surveyed "a string of beads," a list of experiences in chronological order. I then focused on each of the experiences, each of the beads, so to speak. What I am now going to do is concentrate on your image from the perspective that the beads have "nothing tying them in; no closure."

There were many situations in the course of our conversations where you talked about the lack of connections between your experiences. In Interview 3, January 3, 1992, for example, you said:

B: I need ownership...I don't think I can get it from a substitute teaching position. It's like getting a snapshot, a frame from a movie, but I'm never there for the whole movie...
C: ...and that makes it difficult for you to draw your diverse experiences together?
B: Yes...(Interview 3, November 10, 1991, p. 4)

Because you were never in a situation for any length of time, you felt that glimpses of the students, the classrooms, and the school situations were not enough "meat" for you to get anything but a "superficial" sense of the situations. In turn, it seemed to me that this made it difficult for you to meaningfully "tie" your experiences together. Again, your image of your substitute teaching experiences as "a string of beads" lacking connections between them emerged.

In this story, I have explored your image of your substitute teaching experiences being "a string of beads." I have approached the necklace from different perspectives as I told my version of your story. I hope your participation in the research project will help you get beyond the "superficial." I know you agreed to participate in the research project for that purpose (Interview 3, November 10, 1991, p. 23).

Benita's Response

I really like how you have taken selected beads and coloured them in. With each bead, I can see its purpose and I can see some growth in myself as a teacher. Reading your version of the story helped me to focus on some of the other beads in the necklace and started me thinking about each bead as a story of a type of experience itself.

Cheryl's Response

As in other instances, I am reminded of how you see "growth" in yourself rather than "change." I am particularly interested in how you see growth in yourself as a teacher in my version of your story. I am also curious as to the other beads you are trying to make sense of in your substitute teaching experiences.

Riverview School as "Home"

This is one of Cheryl's telling stories about Benita's first four months as a substitute teacher.

In a telephone conversation, you cancelled a scheduled interview with me because you had received a substitute teaching assignment at Riverview School, the school where you worked for your year long practicum. You talked about going "home" to Riverview School to substitute teach (November 5, 1991, p. 1). In this story, I am going to explore what I hear you saying when you use the image, Riverview School as "home," in our conversations.

Your Riverview connections began two years ago when you student taught with Annie Davies as part of the Alternative Program. After that year, you returned to complete your fourth year in the Bachelor of Education program. You remained in close contact with Annie Davies exchanging journals with her, a practice which began in your student teaching year and continues today. When you were a fourth year education student, you often visited Riverview School "to get in touch with reality" (Telephone Conversation, November 5, 1991, p. 1). Sometimes you accompanied Annie and her class on field trips; other times you worked with Annie in her classroom. Presently, you are a substitute teacher who can be requested to a substitute placement in the school system's 150+ elementary schools. Frequently, you have been requested to substitute teach at Riverview.

When I thought about you being a beginning teacher and the possibility of you filling a position at any one of thousands of teaching positions, I began to appreciate why Riverview School might be a special place for you. It was known to you. You knew its location well. You had your travel time to Riverview calculated to the exact minute. Every time you returned to Riverview School you were returning to a familiar place. On the other hand, every time you went to other schools you were going to unfamiliar places. In a geographical sense, Riverview School was a home location for you. At one point in the first term, you had a job interview at an out-of-city location. When you considered the travel time to that school, you immediately compared it to the time it takes you to travel to Riverview. In this way, I again saw you referring to Riverview School as a home location (Interview 5, December 9, 1991, p. 2).

There was another way Riverview was a home location to you. You were required to name a school where you would receive your mail. You designated Riverview as your home school.

There were also other ways in which you referred to Riverview School as home. On September 27, 1991, you had your first of many opportunities to substitute teach there. You were excited about teaching some of the children you had taught two years ago. You described how you introduced yourself to the students: "I introduced myself, for those who did not know me, told them I taught at Riverview before and informed the students about Brent who had been a student teacher in 89/90" (Journal Entry, September 27, 1991, p. 9).

You shared part of your story with the students, a story of you being a former student teacher there. In doing so, you connected your story to their stories in terms of time and place. You also shared news about another student teacher who was there at the same time as you. It seemed you connected with the students by discussing common things: the school and a person whom you and the students mutually knew. Riverview School was a common theme which bound your story and the students' stories together in the past and in the present.

On a second occasion, you talked about the advantages to teaching the Grade 5 students whom you had already taught in Grade 3. In your journal, you wrote:

> One advantage of being in this class is knowing the students...I could ask questions to figure out where things went, I could find out how [the teacher] did things, I could send students to get things for me [equipment, etc.]. (Journal Entry, September 27, 1991, p. 9)

The students were known to you and you were able to trust the students with your questions. You also felt confident in having the students run errands for you. In this instance, I saw your image of home emerging in two ways. One way was your familiarity with the students. The second way was how you engaged the students in tasks much the way chores would be managed in a home. In an unknown school, I doubt whether you would have let students do jobs outside your direct supervision.

In a further example, you discussed discipline at Riverview School. You talked about students responding to your nonverbal cues. In your journal, you wrote:

> Being at Riverview, I didn't have to deal with too many discipline problems. A part of this may be that I am already an established teacher and personality for some of the students. Sure, some tried to not do their work and the volume level was higher than normal but sometimes noise is a sign of productive work. But a quick nod or eye would get people to work...Just like a regular teacher. (Journal Entry, September 27, 1991, p. 10-11)

You felt like a "regular" teacher at Riverview, like one of the teachers for whom Riverview was a work home. You were a local person in that school community. You talked about your reputation at Riverview as being "established." This reminded me of the rootedness I referred to earlier. You felt "at home" in the school setting and the students felt "at home" with you. Your comfort showed in your talk about discipline. The discipline story at Riverview was a tacit story, a story which you and the students mutually understood. This contrasted with other schools where you had to explicitly deal with discipline.

On October 11, 1991, you again had the opportunity to substitute teach at Riverview. You said: "I felt comfortable with this class immediately. Part of this could be because I had met the class once before and shared a story with them...I recognized some faces" (Journal Entry, October 11, 1991, p. 17). You expressed your immediate sense of comfort at Riverview. You shared a story with these students in two ways. In one sense, you comfortably shared a story with the students in the story corner. In another sense, you shared a story with the students because you and they were living out your stories in the same home context. Again, your image of Riverview School as home was expressed in your talk.

"Feeling real" was an expression you have often used to describe how it felt for you to come to a teaching situation at Riverview. Riverview School was where you had your first experience of being a "real teacher...in a classroom" (Fourth Year Education Journal, p. 1). Each time you returned to Riverview as a substitute teacher you also felt "real." On one occasion, you wrote in your journal of a Riverview teaching experience: "I felt "real" again. Friday was different than other sub days because I was in control; I was knowledgeable. I was not playing an improvisational game. I was me!... Friday, I had that ownership and it felt great [to teach]!" (Journal Entry, October 11, 1991, p. 18).

Your talk about feeling "real" reminded me of authentic relationships, the kinds of relationships we have with people with whom we feel "at home." Again, your image of Riverview School as home emerged. In contrast to your feelings of being "real," you talked about "an improvisational game." It seemed to me you associated reality with living; improvisation with playing. You also talked about feeling "in control" and being "knowledgeable" in the Riverview context. This was a sharp contrast to your experience of substitute teaching at Tree Ridge School (told in another story) where you did not feel at home, did not feel in control, did not feel knowledgeable.

Because you were so familiar with the Riverview context, you were sensitive to the subtle changes which have taken place there over time. You talked about these changes in terms of the children's growth and development:

> All of these kids were excited I was there. I think the Grade 5's think that I am just coming in to visit...It is interesting to see and to be able to teach the same children again...to see who has changed and matured and those who have not. (Journal Entry, November 8, 1991, p. 26)

Your knowing of subtle changes also showed when you talked about the children's routines and the cycle of the school year. For example, you said you were seeing "the cycle of the school year again" at Riverview. You observed: "The rhythm is starting to be established in this Grade 1 class. I can see the children beginning to settle into a routine" (Journal Entry, November 8, 1991, p. 27). Your student teaching experience at Riverview, along with your frequent informal visits provided you with this keen sense of knowing "cycle" and "rhythm" (Clandinin & Connelly, 1986). Your frequent substitute placements at the school added to your knowing of the school. As you talked about these things, the predictability you associated with the school was similar to the predictability of one's home environment. This also contributed to your image of Riverview School as home.

You also noted changes in your former co-operating teacher, Annie Davies. In many ways, coming home to Riverview to see her was like coming home to see a parent. You knew Annie Davies' teaching story well and you were able to talk about her practices:

> She is a fascinating teacher. Each year she picks something different to focus on. This year it is evaluation; last year it was worms and story writing... She finds a way to integrate the stuff so well; to continue to make learning fun for the children. (Journal Entry, October 25, 1991, p. 24)

You knew Annie's story well enough to recognize the ways in which her story is being relived. Your warm relationship with Annie was another dimension of your image of Riverview as home.

You also recognized subtle differences in other teachers you came to know through your Riverview experiences. Often, the teachers from other schools who requested you to substitute teach were teachers who were connected to Riverview in some way: a teacher who is a parent of students at Riverview School, a teacher who is a friend of Annie Davies, and a teacher who taught at Riverview last year, for example. You talked about Tracy and how she had adapted her teaching practices to a different school context: "[At Mountain Ridge] Tracy sends kids down to the office. That is the difference [in the school stories]...Tracy used to handle discipline in the class [at Riverview] and now she has switched [to sending students to the office]" (Interview 7, January 3, 1992, p. 15). You recognized subtle changes in Tracy's knowing and her practices (Interview 6, January 3, 1992, p. 15). The community of teachers for whom you substitute were all like Tracy. They all had Riverview connections. This further contributed to your image of Riverview School as home.

Annie Davies was not the only person who made you feel at home at Riverview. Other staff members also welcomed you. We had a conversation about your relationship with the staff. You told me a story about attending the Christmas luncheon at the school. You felt so comfortable you could "sit with anyone" (Interview 6, January 3, 1992, p. 21-22). You no longer felt you had to sit with Annie. You also had this sense of comfort in the staff room. You even said you "would not hesitate to sit next to the principal at a staff meeting."

(Interview 6, January 3, 1992, p. 22). All of these things added to your image of Riverview School being a home to you.

There was another way in which you felt comfortable with the staff. This way was different than the personal and social relationships I have discussed. Riverview School was the school where you learned to be a teacher; the school where you learned about schools, education, and what it means to be a teacher in relation to students. You seemed like an insider at Riverview. We talked about it in one of our conversations:

C: You speak of Riverview feeling like home. Why do you associate Riverview with that feeling? What makes Riverview so comfortable?

B: I think it is because I know the staff; I know what goes on in classrooms; I know the teachers' expectations...Really, this is my third year there...Yes, it is the staff who make it feel like home, plus the kids...It is the idea of knowns...being friends, too...(Interview 7, January 3, 1992, p. 12-13)

You knew the routines of the classrooms, the teachers, and the students. All of this provided you with a familiarity with Riverview which you did not have with other schools. You were especially familiar with the staff's outlook toward learning:

B: ...The staff at Riverview are very open; free with their knowledge. They never feel threatened. They are helpful...always saying, "If you need any help..." (Interview 3, November 10, 1991, p. 20)

We talked about the Riverview staff again in January.

B: It's personal...familiar. That's why it is more like home...You have regular conversations. They ask about my grocery store job. We are very familiar ...They are known; I am known. If I have a problem, I can go and say: "What is going on?" I would not stretch myself at other schools...(Interview 6, January 3, 1992, p. 12-13)

You could ask questions at Riverview. You were also willing to do more than what was expected of you in that environment. Furthermore, you noted the Riverview teachers were supportive of you. A reciprocal kind of relationship existed between you and them. You mentioned being able to express yourself there and the kinds of conversations you and the staff engaged in. You said:

B: Subbing on a short term basis is not a good place [for voice]. You establish very little contact [with people]...At Riverview, we get on good issues or

> chats about particular student's learning...Again, it is the knowing...I know the students, the issues, Riverview, the teachers with whom I am in conversation...(Interview 6, January 3, 1992, p. 28)

In contrast to your experiences at other schools, you had voice at Riverview. You felt free to talk about children and teaching. Riverview School was a place of personal professional development for you. The staff created a space for you to express your knowing and were willing to listen to your opinions. Multiple senses of the image of home were present in your comment. It was expressed in your relationships with the people, your sense of having voice, the type of conversations you engaged in, your knowing of the school, and your knowing of the students. All of these qualities further strengthened the image you hold of Riverview School. At one point, you centred on your knowing of Riverview:

B: I guess it [Riverview School as home] is like any sense of the word, home. It is relaxed. There are no hats. You are just yourself. People accept you for you no matter what. I don't worry [at Riverview] about people looking at me, judging me, evaluating me... (Interview 7, January 3, 1992, p. 11)

In this story, I have explored your image of Riverview School being "home" to you. I have traced the many ways it was expressed in your practical actions.

Benita's Response

This piece says it all. I do feel comfortable and relaxed at Riverview because I am knowledgeable about the classroom stories. Sure, discipline problems and other problems occur like they would in other schools but I feel free in going and talking with the other staff or administration about particular things. I do feel like staff at this school. I make a point to be inquisitive and knowledgeable about the situations I enter.

Cheryl's Response

When you mentioned feeling "free" at Riverview School, I wondered what might make you feel constrained in other school situations. I again got the sense that you put more of yourself into your teaching in the Riverview setting. Feelings of closeness and connectedness came to mind as I read your response.

Children's Stories of "The Good Teacher"

This is one of Benita's telling stories about her first four months as a substitute teacher.

Towards the end of the fall term, you had a few interactions and conversations with students which intrigued you. In each situation, the students' verbal or nonverbal responses caused you to question and reflect upon your notion of the "good teacher." The situations also caused you to think about yourself as "a good teacher" from the students' perspective. In a sense, your story is a telling of three different situations involving three different groups of students. You, in turn, connected the stories to one another and to the "good teacher" theme and what the students mean when they refer to you as a "good teacher."

The first story you shared with me involved another substitute teacher at Riverview. You were still in a classroom when she came in to teach the students. She was struggling to get the class's attention. You interceded in this difficult situation and described the students' response:

> *The noise was unproductive...I asked the class to be quiet. It [their response] was immediate. What interests me here is that the children did not respond to the other sub[stitute teacher] yet they had an immediate reaction to me...What's the difference? Is it a history...a common story? Is it because I am somewhat established at Riverview? (Journal Entry, November 20, 1991, p. 40)*

In the second story, a number of students shared with you how glad they were to have you rather than their previous substitute teacher. In a conversation with two students in particular, you found out why the students preferred you. The students said the other substitute teacher rushed them through their work and often assigned homework. They likened the other substitute teacher's style to the style of a teacher who had previously taught at the school. They likened your style to another teacher's style who presently teaches at the school. The students' conversation perplexed you. It left you with many questions. You explained your wonders: "It is interesting how the students perceive this. Do all students see the differences in teaching styles? Could they tell me about my style? I don't even think I have figured that out yet" (Journal Entry, November 20, 1991, p. 41).

The third story had to do with two students you had come to know through substituting at Mountain Ridge School. The boys were from different classes. They were at school early because they participated in a breakfast program. After eating, the boys went to get their coats to go outside and play. One boy came to pick up the other boy from the classroom where you would be substitute teaching. When the *second boy learned you were the substitute teacher, he assured his friend that things would be okay because you were a "good teacher." Again, the students' conversation left you with questions. "It is interesting to hear the notion of the 'good teacher' again. How do children know? What is the difference?" (Journal Entry, January 19, 1992, p. 49)*

In each of these three stories, students responded to you or your actions in personal ways. Clearly, you were no longer just any substitute teacher to them. You were their substitute teacher, "a good teacher." When you listened closely to the students' conversations, you got a sense of what "a good teacher" was and who you were as you shared a short story with them.

Cheryl's Response

I found this story fascinating. Each of the three short stories were isolated fragments which you discussed in your journal. What interested me was how you made connections between them, traversing schools, substitute teaching placements, and students. You were able to bring the three things together in relation to you, your knowing, and the theme of a "good teacher."

As I reread the story and incidents as you named them, I was taken with the whole notion of "the good teacher." I think you were beginning to probe possible meanings for "the good teacher" in your questions. I also think the students' comments caused you to reflect on your teaching practices.

There was another way I found this story intriguing. Often, when I tell stories about particular situations, I tell of particular insights I derive from my experiences. Your story was different. Rather than sharing an insight or a "lesson" like my stories sometimes do, your story focuses on questions. Your story was like an invitation to continue "the good teacher" conversation. It was a story which opened up, rather than shut down, the exploration of possibilities.

Benita's Response

The "good teacher" is still a bit perplexing for me. It makes me wonder about my relationship with the students and my teaching style. I figure out things within each teaching assignment. The notion of the "good teacher" is a positive feeling.

The "Extremely Tough Day"

This is one of Cheryl's telling stories from Benita's first four months as a substitute teacher. It is followed by two of Benita's telling stories: "My Half Day in Hell" and "Learning To Do Beginnings."

You anxiously awaited your first opportunity to be a substitute teacher. School began on September 3, 1991, but it was not until two weeks later, September 17, 1991, when you received your first substitute teaching placement call. Needless to say, your excitement about being a substitute teacher had grown as your wait stretched over the summer months and into the fall. When you finally received the call to go to Tree Ridge School, you were filled with questions: "What kind of school is this? Where is it? What kind of teacher am I subbing for? What will the kids be like?" (Journal Entry, September 17, 1991, p. 1) You knew these questions would not be answered until you had lived your teaching experience. Unfortunately, when the experience was over, your first day as a substitute teacher fell short of your expectations. It ended up being an "extremely tough day." Every bad thing you had ever experienced in your teaching career happened to you in the space of that one afternoon. What I am going to do is give you back the story you told me about the difficult day and what you learned from it. I will reconstruct your experience by referring to our written and verbal conversations.

You were assigned a Grade 5/6 class at Tree Ridge School. You went to the school expecting it to be like Riverview where you had your practicum experience. When you arrived at the school, the staff was involved in a meeting. You did not have an opportunity to communicate with anyone. You had no sense of a story for the classroom or the school. "I didn't get a chance to talk to any teachers before the bell rang to find out more about the school. Well, the afternoon started with a bang. From the minute the kids entered the room, it was chaotic!" (Journal Entry, September 17, 1991, p. 1).

You then detailed what made your day "chaotic." First, you attempted to take attendance. You ended up letting a student do it because you had to deal with a boy in tears who refused to tell you why he was crying. You were caught between attending to his problem and working with the class. You were facing a dilemma of either dealing with individuals or dealing with the class.

After attendance, it was a regular routine for the students to silent read. You soon found out that just because silent reading was a regular routine, it was not necessarily an established routine. "I tried to get the kids settled into silent reading---Was this ever a chore. I had children out of their desks and others not reading at all" (Journal Entry, September 17, 1991, p. 2).

After silent reading, the class was to do Mathematics. However, Math presented new challenges. Not only did you have disruptive behaviours to deal with, you also had curricular problems. You had never taught Grade 5 or 6 before let alone two grades in one classroom. You did not know how to keep both grades working simultaneously.

> In Math...I had difficulty trying to figure out how to keep both Grade 5 and 6 busy and focused. Because the attention level was nil, I figured busy work would be the best way to settle the class

> down...It worked for a while. (Journal Entry, September 17, 1991, p. 2-3)

Faced with the dilemma of keeping the students focused on Mathematics and out of trouble, you resorted to giving the students work which would keep them "busy" and out of trouble. This strategy worked for a short time. However, it was not long before more behavioral and organizational problems surfaced. You continued telling your story this way: "Next, I ran into the problem of certain kids not working and some were moving around, others did not have a book, and so on. The noise level was extremely high" (Journal Entry, September 17, 1991, p. 3). A number of students wandered around the classroom and disturbed the students doing the assigned task. You realized the class was out of control. The noise was outside a range which would be acceptable to you or appropriate for a school setting.

You had little time to deal with group noise problems because more individual problems were surfacing. One boy, for example, arrived late: "One boy arrived late, no excuse. He had an attitude... He reminded me of my days in school; I grouped him into the 'head banger' group" (Journal Entry, September 17, 1991, p. 3). You sensed you would have problems with this student. His presence took you back to your own school experiences. As you anticipated, he became a problem in concert with another student. You described their behaviours this way:

> I had a problem with the macho boy, Scott, and his partner, Logan. They were walking around the class bothering people. Some of the kids asked to work in the hall because it was too noisy...I asked Scott and Logan to please get down to work. Scott tried erasing the [Math] information on the overhead [the class] needed for the graphs. (Journal Entry, September 17, 1991, p. 3)

You were struggling as a teacher in an unknown setting. You did not know the individual students, the class and its story, the school and its high needs story. You felt helpless in dealing with the behaviour problems of the individual students or the noise problem of the class.

Another individual student joined in the action in the classroom scene. You did not describe her disruptive behaviour but you did tell me how you reacted to it. About the same time, you also reacted to Scott and Logan's disturbances. This is how you described the situation:

> A girl, Lynn, was just wandering around causing a commotion. I asked her to...write a letter to the regular teacher explaining her

> behaviour. I was finally fed up with Scott and Logan so I had them do the same. (Journal Entry, September 17, 1991, p. 3)

While you were dealing with these students, a physical fight broke out in the classroom. You again lacked knowledge about the students. You no longer felt you could deal with discipline. You sent the two boys to the principal. You could not focus on individual problems because the class required your undivided attention.

At the end of the day, the principal came to have a chat with you. You told him about the difficulties. He asked whether you would return to the school. You told him you would. Your day had been difficult but not so difficult that you would not return to meet the challenge again.

Your half day at Tree Ridge School left its imprint on you. You were "completely exhausted" after working with the students for two hours. You "felt like a failure" after the experience (Journal Entry, September 17, 1991, p. 4). I was reminded of the words you chose to describe the students and the situation. You said the students were "a tough bunch of kids" (Journal Entry, September 17, 1991, p. 5) and the day was "an extremely tough day" (Journal Entry, September 17, 1991, p. 5). The toughness you described contrasted with how you described yourself. You said you were "soft" in the situation (Journal Entry, September 17, 1991, p. 5) You realized your way of managing the class did not fit with the students' behaviours. You learned from this experience.

> As a sub[stitute teacher], I can only let the class test to a limit; I cannot be soft. I need to show them I am in charge for their benefit. I learned this from my first day at Tree Ridge. (Journal Entry, October 7, 1991, p. 15)

Your "extremely tough day" brought you to an important insight about how you should begin classes as a substitute teacher:

> The day was an important lesson for me. I have come to an important discovery. I found that for me it was important or I should say "necessary" for me to do the attendance, to call out the names, and more significantly, make eye contact with every child in the room. (Journal Entry, September 17, 1991, p. 4)

You figured out that the beginning of a class sets the tone for all activities which follow. You also came to an awareness that you needed a "tough" side to balance your "soft" side as a teacher.

In this story, I have explored your difficult Tree Ridge teaching experience. While you have experienced numerous positive substitute teaching days since then, your Tree Ridge experience is a teaching story you will not forget.

Benita's Response

Yes. This certainly was an experience that I will never forget! I felt a little like a failure after this particular day and I wondered if all my substitute teaching experiences would be like that one. I wondered if I was the person who had done something wrong. I did learn many lessons in just one afternoon. I struggled with the day as a whole. I felt very new and inexperienced.

Cheryl's Response

It is interesting how we can experience agonizing struggles yet when we reflect back on them, they are also wonderful learning experiences. Maxine Greene (1988) talks about our need to climb mountains to get to the other side. Your response reminded me of how you climbed a mountain one day as a substitute teacher and you were now able to tell me about it from the other side.

"My Half Day in Hell"

This is one of Benita's telling stories from her first four months as a substitute teacher.

The first story you indicated would be a telling story for your first four months as a substitute teacher was your Tree Ridge Experience. As you talked about your first day substitute teaching, you gave your Tree Ridge story a tabloid title. You called it: "My Half Day In Hell." I also told a story of this day. I was not as creative as you. I called my version: "The 'Extremely Tough' Day."

As you reflected back on your Tree Ridge experience, you talked about how you anticipated your first chance to teach. You knew you had made the substitute teaching list for a large, urban school board in the spring after you graduated from university. You anticipated your first job as a "real teacher" all summer (Journal Entry, September 17, 1991, p. 1). You enthusiastically went to Tree Ridge School to begin your teaching career. When you arrived at the school, everything went wrong (Journal Entry, September 17, p. 12-14). You did not recount all the events which backfired on you. Rather, you reflected on your experience and realized you went to Tree Ridge with no idea of what you should be doing. Given your present knowing of the entailments of substitute teaching, you knew you went to the school ill-prepared. As you looked back on your experience, you realized you did not know how to begin the class or how to keep it going. You said you felt "incompetent" (Interview 7, January 3, 1992, p. 16). You continue to feel somewhat responsible for what *happened that day. You talked about initially taking the students' misbehaviour personally. You felt the students were acting out because they did not like you. Now you have had other substitute teaching experiences, you realize the students were not acting out against you. They could have been insecure about the situation or disruptive. You have also found other teachers who have taught and substitute taught at Tree Ridge School. They, too, had stories of some experiences which were particularly difficult. Annie Davies, for example, wrote in your journal about her experiences. She talked about the students as being "tough." She also discussed the kind of toughness she developed as a teacher living in the Tree Ridge situation. Talking through your experience with people like Annie was useful. It helped you put your "half day in hell" in context. Of course, you were a beginning teacher in a first substitute teaching placement. You were by your own account "green" (Journal Entry, September 17, 1991, p. 1). However, the context where you were placed was a designated high needs school. You stepped into a particularly difficult situation without any advance knowing.*

You are at ease as you talk about your Tree Ridge experience now. You understand that the experience helped you to make sense of classroom management and how to begin a day with students you do not know. Your Tree Ridge experience particularly taught you how to do beginnings which is captured in your next telling story: ***Learning To Do Beginnings.***

Cheryl's Response

I was taken by the reflective manner in which you told this story. We did not discuss your "half day in hell" much after the first interview, the journal entry for the day, and a few passing comments. In this story, you restoried your Tree Ridge experience by placing it in relation to your current knowing of substitute teaching. I could see how your knowing shifted as time passed. You were able to look back on the experience and comment on your preparation for that first day of teaching compared to your preparation now. You also were also to think about the students' behaviour as something other than a personal attack on you. The other thing which stood out for me in your story was how helpful your community was to you. When you discussed your difficult time with caring people such as Annie, you came to understand that other people have difficult days too and that some situations where you may teach are more challenging than others. These were just a few of my thoughts about your story.

Benita's Response

I was worried about a number of things going into this placement. The experience caused me to question my ability to teach this class, this particular grade, or even a split grade class. It made me think about what prompts children to behave *poorly. I also thought about the regular teacher in the class and how she/he worked with the students.*

Learning To Do Beginnings

This is one of Benita's telling stories of her first four months as a substitute teacher.

This is a story not explicitly told in your journal nor discussed in the interviews. Yet, it is a very important story for you. It is how you learned to do beginnings as a substitute teacher.

Apparently, you have a history of not doing beginnings well. You particularly listed first days, beginnings of units, and starting assignments as tasks which are problematic to you (Interview 7, January 3, 1992, p. 26). You told me you have a track record of "coming in at the middle" (Interview 6, January 3, 1992, p. 26). When you have to start something, you procrastinate: "I struggle with beginnings...I worry, I hmmm, I haw..I stew, I boil..." (Interview 6, January 3, 1992, p. 26-27). Once you get past the introductory phase, however, you are fine. As you put it, "I come in at the middle; I flourish; I soar; I end" (Interview 6, January 3, 1992, p. 27). You told me Annie Davies knows about your difficulties with beginnings. She was with you during your third and fourth year at university. Annie used to get frustrated with you when you were trying to prepare papers. She would tell you: "Sit down, Benita, and begin to write..." (Interview 6, January 3, 1992, p. 27). In your fourth year, beginnings were "a big issue" for you (January 19, 1992, p. 50). You wrote about your uncertainties: "I would fret over assignments, I would ask myself questions: Is this what they want? Is this right?...Is this what the students need? Will they [the students] enjoy and learn from this?" (Journal Entry, January 19, 1992, p. 50).

When you became a substitute teacher, you had difficulties with beginnings in your first placement at Tree Ridge School. When you reflected on that day, you realized the experience had something to do with beginnings:

> *As I look back on this afternoon, I can see where I went wrong. I felt like a failure in this particular experience. I did not have control of the class from the beginning. This day was an important lesson for me. I have come to an important discovery. (Journal Entry, September 17, 1991, p. 3)*

You learned about the importance of doing attendance, calling each student's name, establishing eye contact, and putting names to students' faces. This procedure is now the one you use to begin each day with a new class. In fact, on one occasion, you substituted for Annie Davies' class who had gym first thing in the morning. To save *time, only absentees were reported to the office. You, however, learned the importance of beginnings. You repeated attendance after the physical education class so you could get to know the students' names and faces. The children protested that they did not do attendance again; they "always do printing after gym" (Journal Entry, October 25, 1991, p. 24).*

In a sense, each of your experiences as a substitute teacher is about beginnings. In many circumstances, you are called to unknown schools, unknown classrooms, unknown students, unknown communities, and unknown routines. In these new situations, beginnings are very important because they set the tone for the remainder of your day. After you told me your "beginnings" story, you wrote more about beginnings in your journal: "As a sub[stitute teacher], I have learned to do beginnings. I was worried about the first day of school. I have now completed almost 40 first days now. I have overcome this fear" (Journal Entry, January 19, 1992, p. 50).

The lesson you learned at Tree Ridge School prepared you for the beginnings you must face each day as a substitute teacher. It is little wonder you identified ***My Half Day In Hell*** *and* ***Learning To Do Beginnings*** *as telling stories of your first four months as a substitute teacher.*

Cheryl's Response

The part which caught me in this story was how very difficult it must have been for you to replace another teacher when you did not have any knowledge of her/him, the students, the class, or the school as a whole. Even the sense of knowledge you had from your Riverview experiences would not work in the Tree Ridge situation. This reminded me of the uniqueness of each teaching situation and the contextual nature of knowledge.

Another thing which attracted me to this story was how you learned from the situation and let it go. I admired how you are able to talk humorously about it now as opposed to the deep seriousness with which you approached the topic when it first happened.

Benita's Response

Yes, the fear of beginnings is now gone. Substitute teaching has been a good experience for me to work through this fear. I have ideas now of how I will story my classroom beginnings.

"On the Outskirts"

This is one of Cheryl's telling stories of Benita's first four months as a substitute teacher.

As a substitute teacher, many times you felt like you did not belong. I have already discussed how you felt disconnected from the stories of most of the schools and classrooms where you taught. In this version of your story, however, I am going to concentrate on your feelings in the larger contexts, particularly in regard to the school system and the Teachers' Association. In many ways, you felt distanced from these organizations which represent all teachers including you. Many times in our written and oral conversations you discussed how you felt on the outside because you did not have the kind of communications which regular teachers have. In this story, I focus on selected experiences which illustrate your feelings of being "on the outskirts" (Interview 8, January 20, 1992, p. 28).

Shortly after you had your first experience as a substitute teacher, we had a conversation. At the time of our first meeting, the ways of the school system were unfamiliar to you. You did not know what was expected of you as a substitute teacher. Furthermore, you did not know important details about being a substitute teacher such as your salary and benefits package. You reflected on your lack of information:

B: Before I didn't even know how they based our salary...I knew it had to do with years of service and years of education...
C: Nobody stopped to explain this?
B: No. I didn't know what I was getting until I got my first pay cheque. (Interview 9, January 20, 1992, p. 4)

You attended a Substitute Teachers' Workshop in the hope of getting some of your questions answered. You said:

> I was really looking forward to this [substitute teacher inservice] because I did not have any correspondence with the [school] board since they sent me a letter last May stating I had been accepted on the sub[stitute teacher] list. (Journal Entry, September 17, 1992, p. 5)

At the inservice session, you were introduced to key people, given handouts, and organized into sessions. You had just finished your "extremely tough day" at Tree Ridge School and you chose to go to a session on classroom management "in hopes of figuring out where and how a sub[stitute] stands regarding this issue"

(Journal Entry, September 17, 1992, p. 5). You left the substitute teachers' inservice feeling uninformed and a stranger to the procedures of the system. You described your feelings this way: "Overall...I did not feel I came away with what is expected from a sub[stitute teacher] or how the [school] system works. Oh well, hopefully my questions about income, number of calls, expectations, etc., will be answered soon" (Journal Entry, September 17, 1992, p. 6-7). You had been told things which those in charge of substitute teaching felt you should know. A space had not been made for you to ask your substitute teaching questions.

One question you particularly wanted answered was approximately how often you would be substitute teaching. This was a basic needs question. You knew you would not be earning enough salary as a substitute teacher to support yourself. You therefore continued to hold a part-time job in the customer service department of a large grocery store. You wanted to be available to teach in the school system, but you also needed to retain your second job to live. You managed the dilemma by working the evening shift and weekends at the store. Every weekday morning, however, you waited from 6:00 A.M. forward for a placement call for a substitute teaching job. It ended up that some days and weeks all you did was work; other weeks you hardly worked at all. You talked about this chopped up work schedule in one of our interviews. You said you felt you were living three lives: one as a substitute teacher, one as a clerk in Customer Services, and one as a private person. When you talked about this, I got the sense that your life was compartmentalized and fragmented. There was your grocery store job where you were publicly waiting to negotiate exit. There was your school system job where you were publicly trying to negotiate entry. Then, there was your private life with your friends who knew you through your grocery store job and who were having difficulties seeing you as a teacher. All of these things seemed to contribute to your sense of being on the perimeter of things, on the outskirts, so to speak.

I am now moving from some of your selected experiences in the school system to some of your selected experiences in the teachers' association. 1991-1992 was an unusual year in the school district. Teachers threatened to strike in the fall of 1991 and went on strike in January of 1992. In January, you talked about hearing about the contract negotiations and the impending strike through the local news media, rather than through the Teachers' Association (Interview 7, January 3, 1992). You received information like an outsider rather than like an insider, a regular teacher, would. It seemed you missed this information in two ways. One way was that you were often on supervision at the schools when teachers had noon hour meetings about the impending strike (Interview 8, January 20, 1992). The second way was because you had to work at your other job when important meetings were held. You explained it this way:

B: I couldn't go [to strike meetings] because I had to work. I couldn't give up my shift because I need the money. (Interview 9, January 20, 1992, p. 2)

We talked about you missing insider information. One thing you missed hearing was the increase in substitute salaries:

C: It is hard for you to feel right in the situation?
B: Yes, mind you, someone was saying that substitute teachers got an increase [in payment]. I said: "Did they?" (Interview 9, January 20, 1992, p. 3)

We also talked about the monetary issue, the most contentious issue underlying the teachers' strike. You talked about salary in a very personal manner:

B: Salary is not really an issue for me at this point.
C: You are more interested in getting in the door?
B: Right. What [the school board] are offering [if I was on regular contract] is $30,000...more than I make now. I am not going to be too picky... (Interview 8, January 13, 1992, p. 11-12)

We also talked about the notion of strike action:

C: How does it feel to be on the verge of [a strike]?
B: I'm kind of removed. I am not on anyone's staff. (Interview 8, January 13, 1992, p. 15)

You felt distanced from other teachers on regular staff with the school board.

At one point, you managed to attend a Teachers' Association meeting. You went with Annie Davies and other teachers you had to come to know through Annie. We talked about how your experience of the meeting would have been had you not gone with Annie:

B: ...I don't know whether I would have gone if I did not have anyone to go with...I don't know whether I would be able to make sense of it. Maybe, it is a question of place, like being there all alone, all by myself, maybe that is a bit of it...
C: You would have sat there as a single person disconnected from everyone else?
B: Right, voiceless. (Interview 8, January 13, 1992, p. 25)

There were three ways you might have felt removed from the crowd of teachers. First, you were having difficulty making sense of the strike issues. This is understandable because the information you received was intermittent and fragmented. Second, you felt cut off as an individual from the crowd. You may have felt you did not belong and possibly "out of place." Third, you felt that in this crowd of teachers, your voice would not be heard. While you went to the meeting feeling a voice and a connection to Annie and the other teachers, you felt disconnected and voiceless in this larger context of teachers.

After the meeting, you had a better grasp of the issues:

B: I did not have a sound argument on why the teachers were striking because I really did not know what was going on. Now, I have a sound argument and it would be a very sound argument if we were better off economically in society...The [current] pay [issue] is grey, very grey...
C: The notion of striking is still very grey for most people.
B: We do not really want to go [on strike]... (Interview 8, January 13, 1992, p. 26)

You discussed teachers in a general sense. It was as if teachers, of whom you are one, were a "they" to which "you" did not belong. Towards the end of our conversation, however, you specifically talked about "we" in terms of not wanting to go on strike. I sensed you and the people with whom you felt connected did not want to strike.

About this time, you began to talk about the strike as involving teachers in two different contexts: one being teachers in classrooms with students; the other being teachers in society with other citizens. You seemed to have made sense of the teacher in the classroom part and felt very strongly about that context. The Teachers' Association meeting, however, had focused on teachers in society, a discussion concerned primarily with wage issues. You felt children's needs were lost in this focus.

We had an interview on the first day of the strike:

B: Sure enough, we are out [on strike] today.
C: So, you do not feel a part of the action?
B: I felt a bit of it Friday. It was really tough. The kids did not know what was going on...It was almost like the students were in an act of denial...They are Grade 1 students, you know...
C: You got caught up in that then...and you said you did not get to be a part of the [staff] meeting [regarding the strike] because you were on supervision?
B: I had to leave [the meeting] early. It was all cut up...I hope they settle; I have to teach tomorrow. (Interview 8, January 13, 1992, p. 15)

I again sensed a distance between yourself and teachers as a whole. You again did not feel a part of the "they" who would possibly settle the strike. Furthermore, when you talked about feeling "a bit" of the strike, you did not discuss teachers' demands for salary increases. Instead, you talked about the strike's effect on children in classrooms. Again, you felt more connected to the notion of teachers in classrooms with students and cut off from the notion of teachers in society. Another way you may have felt cut off from the majority of teachers was the results of the strike vote: 72.8% teachers voted in favour of strike action.

On one occasion, we reflected generally on the strike situation. I asked you whether the strike experience would be part of your personal story as a teacher. You replied:

B: I don't really know. It is certainly part of the story of a substitute [teacher] still...of not really being a part of the whole. It is...a part of being unconnected...
C: You are just sort of there...
B: Out there on your own...
C: You have sort of felt on the edge?
B: I have felt on the outskirts. I am not really there...(Interview 8, January 20, 1992, p. 28)

In this story, I have given you back my version of your feeling "on the outskirts" as a substitute teacher. I believe **On the Outskirts** is a telling story from your first year experiences as a substitute teacher.

Benita's Response

You have captured the feelings of substitute teachers in general. Focusing the story on the strike gives one story of how substitute teachers feel on the outskirts of the teaching profession. You have taken the issue past individual schools into the educational system. I think most substitute teachers have similar feelings of being out on the edge and really, it is the system's (board's) fault, not the fault of particular schools.

Cheryl's Response

Your response again reminds me of your need for connectedness and personal relationships and how difficult it is for you to experience these things from a substitute teaching position. I am wondering how you think the school system could help you feel more connected to other educators in the organization.

Benita's Second Collection of "Telling Stories": "Telling Stories" of Benita's First Eight Months of Substitute Teaching (Written and Responded To By the End of May, 1992)

Notes to the Reader: I have condensed the stories since I presented them to Benita. What follows is part of the letter I wrote to Benita explaining her second collection of telling stories.

Benita, this is a collection of your stories told by you and me. My versions of your stories are titled: "Job Uncertainty," "The Good Teacher," "Eight Consecutive Days of Ownership," "The Safe Day" Revisited, and "Images of Team Teaching." My stories appear in regular print. You will also find versions of the stories you chose to tell. They are: "The Good Teacher, Continued," "Teaching Consecutive Days," "Unexpected Ownership," The Student Teachers," and "Team Teaching." Most of your telling stories, with the exception of "Teaching Consecutive Days" and "Unexpected Ownership," were stories you wrote in your journal. Your stories appear in italics. All the procedural things which guide you, I, and our readers through the stories appear in bold type. I should point out one difference in this collection of stories. In my version of "The Safe Day Revisited," I included Annie's response to your "Safe Day" story. It is in a different font.

I look forward to your response to my versions of your stories. I also look forward to responding to your stories. As before, I am sure we will continue to have many "fascinating" conversations.

Job Uncertainty

This is one of Cheryl's telling stories of Benita's first eight months of substitute teaching.

When you began substitute teaching, you thought you would find a permanent teaching position. From the beginning, you were repeatedly invited to substitute at Riverview School. You welcomed opportunities to teach there but you wondered whether you might be missing job openings elsewhere. You explained: "I wish I would get more schools so I could get better known. It is tough because the job is not going to be at Riverview...undoubtedly, it will not be there" (Interview 1, October 23, 1991, p. 42; Interview 10, January 30, 1992, p. 25). You knew being "known" by a school staff was an important part of being considered for a teaching position. At Riverview you were "known," however, you knew few openings occurred there and when they did, many experienced teachers sought them.

Towards Christmas, you became aware of two job opportunities, one with the urban school system, the other out of town. You were interviewed for the rural job but not hired. As for the school system job, Annie Davies contacted the principal to advocate for you. The principal assured Annie you would be shortlisted and also told you that you would be interviewed for the position (Interview 10, January 30, 1992, p. 5). You were filled with hope.

After Christmas and the teachers' strike which followed, you returned to substitute teach at Riverview. In the staff room, you saw a card from another substitute teacher thanking the staff for their support and informing them of her new job. It was the job for which you were promised an interview. You became very uncertain about yourself and your future when you realized you had not even been interviewed. Your January reaction resonated with this October comment:

> It is frustrating...part of it is because everyone says "Oh, you are a good teacher. Look at what you do...you are innovative and so on." I have a support team like Pat, Annie, and you and nothing happens. It is like "Oh God...Nothing." It is a bit disappointing. (Interview 1, October 23, p. 37-38)

You began to wonder how substitute teachers gain entry to permanent teaching positions. Again your January wonder was similar to an October comment:

B: ...so, technically, I did not even get a chance to get an interview with the board, you know it is just a matter of, I don't know...
C: Is it "getting through the door"?
B: Yes, it really is.
C: That network system?
B: It seems to be. And even as a substitute you do not have much contact...(Interview 1, October 23, p. 7)

Soon after this, a rumour of another job opening circulated. Even the potential situation at Riverview was entangled by extenuating circumstances. A former teacher currently on maternity leave wanted the position. You knew if an opening did occur, your competition would be tough. The teacher was more experienced than you. She was also more familiar to the staff.

You continued to wonder how beginning teachers were hired. Our conversation went this way:

B: How do you get to the door? You know Hanna got to the door because she and Tracy [her cooperating teacher] did a speech for the Staffing Officer. Hanna got to know him and he offered her a job in February, ten days after her interview. He said: "I have a position for you, do you want it?"

C: Hmm. So do you know anybody else who you can story about their getting through the door?... Hmm. How about Steve? Do you know how he might have got through?
B: No, I do not know how he got through...Special Education and a male in an elementary school? (Interview 10, January 30, 1992, p. 27-28)

You also talked about substitute teachers who had been hired in regular teaching positions.

C: How about Linda? How did she get a regular teaching job?
B: I do not know how she made the connection to the school unless she used to substitute teach at the principal's former school. Linda was a substitute teacher for three years...
C: or maybe she student taught at a particular school...
B: Yes, I know a teacher at Riverview who got a job because she used to be a student teacher and do volunteer work there.
C: It is really interesting to think about how people get through the door.
B: It is not what you know; it is who you know.
C: I fear that....but it also might be a matter of being there at the right moment or at the time of greatest need...
B: Definitely. (Interview 10, January 30, 1992, p. 28)

We were trying to figure out how each person gained entry to the school system. You decided: "It is not what you know; it is who you know." (Interview 10, January 30, 1992, p. 28). You felt personal connections to people in the school system contributed to the hiring process.

In a later interview, you talked about knowing more about how the person had been hired for the Seaside position. A teacher told you she got the two people in touch with one another. Her disclosure caused you to repeat your previous line of thinking. You said: "It is not what you know; it is who you know...again!" (Interview 12, March 20, 1992, p. 20). You observed: "I have influential friends, too, but... I do not think that approach is fair" (Interview 12, March 20, 1992, p. 21). You felt caught in a dilemma. On one hand, you worried about the ethics of other individuals influencing the hiring process. On the other hand, you admitted: "It is difficult [to get a job] when you do not even get a chance to show your stuff!" (Interview 12, March 20, 1992, p. 20). You knew that without influential people actively advocating on your behalf, it would be difficult for you to be shortlisted.

About this time, there was a severe budget cut in the school system and central office staff were moved into teaching positions. There was a reduced need for new teachers. You discussed your job possibilities with the principal of Riverview School. He said he would contact you as he became informed (Interview 12, March 20, 1992, p. 20). A student teacher also told you job possibilities were "grim." She had been warned not to expect to be on substitute teaching lists (Interview 12, March 20, 1992, p. 21). Within this environment of reduced possibilities, you continued to "wait and see" what next year holds for you: "I don't even know. I haven't tried to do anything yet. Maybe I will feel discouraged after I talk to the principal in April again" (Interview 12, March 20, 1992, p. 25).

About the same time, you received a brochure from the school system offering substitute teaching workshops. The topic which most interested you, "How to get a job," was a topic not offered (Interview 12, March 20, 1992, p. 19). You had already shared that "...[you did] not want to be a substitute teacher next year. [You would] be quite heartbroken if [you were] substitute teaching next year" (Interview 10, January 30, 1992, p. 31).

Job Uncertainty is a story whose narrative threads were woven through many of our conversations. It is a story which tells about your desire to be a regular teacher, not a substitute teacher in the school system.

Benita's Response

This story occupies my thoughts lately. I think you are right in saying that it is "being at the right place at the right time." My focus now is being at a place and being noticed. I am surprised you picked this story. I am reminded that education is like any other business in the private sector and you have to sell yourself and be competitive, even more so in tough economic times. I will be disappointed if I do not have an opportunity to have my own classroom. I really do miss having my own class and having a chance to figure out and be involved in my own classroom story.

Cheryl's Response

This was a hard story for me to write. I guess it was because so much of this story is in the situation and outside of our reach. Familiarity does secure many people jobs, jobs which other candidates could have filled had they been known. I agree with you that "being noticed" and "at a place" are important parts of your job search.

"The Good Teacher"

This is one of Cheryl's stories of Benita's first eight months of teaching. It builds on one of Benita's previous telling stories, "Children's Stories of the Good Teacher" and relates to Benita's telling stories which follows: "The Good Teacher, Continued" and "The Student Teachers."

Children's Stories of the Good Teacher was one of your stories in your first collection. In this second set of stories, I extend the story by telling how you have continued to live the story.

At Riverview School, you had the opportunity to work closely with a student teacher. You noticed she had the traditional student teaching blue log book and was writing lesson plans in it. You thought about "real teaching" being so much more than lesson plans in a log book (Interview 12, March 20, 1992, p. 4). You thought the focus should be on lessons lived in the classroom, their "timing, rhythm and that kind of stuff" (Interview 12, March 20, 1992, p. 4). You talked with the student teacher about how you brought your university and practicum experiences together but you found yourself relating to her dissatisfaction. You both found the university and school system were "far apart" with "no bridge to bring... university and school experiences together" (Interview 12, March 20, 1992, p. 5). The student teacher asked how you develop rapport with students. "Let the students know you are a person, too," was your response (Interview 12, March 20, 1992, p. 7). She also asked about particular children who did not want to work together. You suggested she "listen to the student's reasons" before placing them in particular groups (Interview 12, March 20, 1992, p. 6). As you talked with the student teacher, you began to think about your relationship to her. You said: "I found myself acting like an Annie clone. I was probing her to think about more than just her lessons...about rhythm and about doing the things she is comfortable with.."(Interview 12, March 20, 1992, p. 4).

She called you "a good teacher." Her compliment caught you off guard. Again, the expression, the good teacher, had been used in relation to you. You talked about it this way: "Here it [the good teacher] is again, continuing at a different level. Here is the student teacher saying I am a good teacher" (Interview 12, March 20, 1992, p. 6).

The student teacher's comment prompted you to think about yourself as a good teacher.

C: So you are continuing to have a conversation with yourself about the good teacher?

B: Yes...What is a good teacher, anyway? (Interview 12, March 20, 1992, p. 5)

Many times in different situations you have been called "a good teacher." Pat and Annie have called you a good teacher as have students in different schools. A student teacher also recognized this quality. These comments have prompted you to continue to reflect on the matter and fuelled your ongoing personal inquiry about yourself as "a good teacher."

Benita's Response

We have had this conversation many times. It still amazes me what others see in me as a teacher. It causes me to question what I do in my practice and what is beneficial for me and those with whom I come in contact. I do enjoy having an open and close rapport with people around me. I try to listen to what children have to say and to figure out what is important to them. Maybe that is what makes me the "good teacher"?

Cheryl's Response

We do continue this conversation. I like the way you are connecting listening, reflection, and responsiveness to the sense you are making of yourself as "the good teacher." I also sense you are trying to "figure out" the good in situations by paying attention to the students' voices.

Stories of the Good Teacher, Continued

This is one of Benita's telling stories of her first eight months of teaching. It is a story of her experiences which she wrote in her journal (Journal Entry, April 21, 1992, p. 64-66). It is a continuation of her "Children's Stories of the Good Teacher" which was previously shared.

The idea of the "good teacher" still intrigues me. When I left Margaret's class after teaching there for eight days, the students were very sad I was leaving. Then when I was in Tracy's class recently, two children particularly spoke to me. One boy who was having some behaviour problems said: "Why don't you stay for at least a month?" Even though Tracy was returning, he was very upset that I would not be back the following day.

When I return to the same classes as a substitute teacher, I grow attached to the children like regular teachers do. I think the students develop an attachment toward me, too. But, how can I explain children knowing me as a "good teacher" when they have little or no contact with me? Sure, I know the students pass on comments they hear from their peers and siblings. But there must be more to it. Maybe I will never know. I do know I feel special when I am with these children. I just wish the school system could see the qualities the children see in me.

I also went to substitute teach at two new schools recently and the students at each of them commented on me being a "good teacher." After handling a difficult science class at Sunshine School, I had one boy come up and say I did a good job and I was nice. At Valley Ridge School, I worked one on one with a boy in a Grade 2/3 classroom who clung to me afterwards. He seemed to have fun in Maths after I worked with him. Before I worked with him, he was bored and creating trouble. The next time I was at Valley Ridge, I was placed in a different class. However, we had shared reading with the Grade 2/3 class. The same boy immediately caught my attention and said "Hello." His Grade 4 partner asked him if he knew me and he said: "Yes, and I like her."

Cheryl's Response

It is interesting you are now writing your teaching experiences as stories in your journal. I can see how "the good teacher" has continued to be a theme in your lived experiences with students. Here you push the notion of the good teacher and wonder why the school system does not recognize your goodness as a teacher, the "good teacher" which the students see. I think you are uncovering a fundamental problem in school systems, the problem of teachers being hired on the basis of resumes and short interviews, attempts to reduce human knowledge and relationships to short statements which can be judged by others out of context.

Benita's Response

I believe I wrote about this teaching experience because it continued a story already written (in the first collection). I wrote my experiences in stories because you are familiar with my background and my experiences. I was writing about my wish that the school system could see what the children are seeing in me. I can only guess at the picture which is constructed of me as a teacher.

The Student Teachers

This is Benita's telling story of her first eight months of substitute teaching. "The Student Teachers" is also a story of experience which Benita wrote in her journal (Journal Entry, April 21, 1992, p. 66-69).

I had the chance to work with two student teachers recently. I first worked with Lorraine at Riverview in a Grade 6 classroom. Lorraine and I had several conversations over that two days when I was on assignment with her. She asked me if I would respond in her log book and I did. I was taken back by the book filled with pages and pages of lesson plans and objectives. It seemed very superficial in comparison to the type of log book I had during my practicum. She had left me a space to comment and I found myself discussing issues not having anything to do with actual lesson plans. I talked with her about rhythm and rapport with the students, timing, structuring activities, discipline, and so on. I even ran out of space to write because I had so much to share with her and so many questions to ask to probe her thinking. I enjoyed working with Lorraine. She was a strong and solid student teacher, like a rare jewel or stone. Lorraine was thoughtful about her work. As I found myself in this situation with her, I was reminded of how close my writing and response was to Annie's. I found myself living the role of the experienced teacher; the one who has knowledge and experience. Through working with Lorraine, I reassured myself of how much I really did know. I think both Lorraine and I learned from our two days together.

Then I went to Valley Ridge School, a new school for me, where I was placed in a new class. I again had a student teacher. I thought this was great and I expected the situation to be similar to working with Lorraine. I was wrong. Vinny, the student teacher there, reminded me of a very fragile piece of grandmother's best china which was sitting too close to the edge of the shelf and would, with a little push or shake, fall and shatter into tiny pieces. Vinny was a student teacher who would not be completing her practicum.

When I arrived, Vinny seemed to be prepared and I had little to do but supervise. I watched closely and intervened as little as possible. I saw her struggling to find her place with the students. The students did not respond to her. Vinny was *unsure of herself. I felt badly for her. At one point, I had to interrupt because I felt she needed to close an activity. I went from group to group and saw the students were finished. I got them settled for Vinny to do the next activity. I thought I was doing her a favour. Then she informed me she had wanted to do one more thing.*

Cheryl's Response

The contrast between your experiences with Lorraine and your experiences with Vinny are so sharp. When you first told me this story, my initial question was whether the second student teacher was from a minority group. I have worked with many student teachers. Your story of Vinny reminded me of my work with a female student teacher who was also from a minority group. There seems to be so much in our inherited roles as teachers which runs counter to particular cultures and gender roles within particular cultures. I was wondering whether you considered this aspect of Vinny's story as you considered it in relation to your experiences with Lorraine.

Benita's Response

It never crossed my mind that the problems Vinny was encountering might have something to do with ethnic background. I have many friends from different ethnic backgrounds who did not experience problems during practicum and yet people from a regular "Canadian" culture had encountered difficulties. I presumed these people just needed to figure out what was happening in their "teacher" stories.

Eight Consecutive Days of Ownership

This is one of Cheryl's telling stories of Benita's first eight months of substitute teaching. It builds on one of Benita's previous telling stories, "Ownership." It is followed by two of Benita's telling stories, "Teaching Consecutive Days" and "Unexpected Ownership."

This story is about your first long term assignment as a substitute teacher. It is about "eight consecutive days" where you felt you had "ownership in what occurred" and felt what happened in the classroom was "really [yours](Interview 12, March 20, 1992, p. 11). My story relates to your previously told **"Ownership"** story and to two of your stories which will follow: **Teaching Consecutive Days** and **Unexpected Ownership**.

A teacher at Riverview chose you to be her long term substitute teacher. You went to the school to plan with her. She gave you an "open agenda." You had some "flexibility" as to what would happen in the classroom and when. The teacher was comfortable with you as her substitute. You wrote in your journal: "When planning with the teacher, I felt her trust in me. I could sense she felt satisfied and relieved to know I was there. She reassured me that she knew everything would be fine [in her absence]" (Journal Entry, March 8, 1992, p. 58).

One subject area where the teacher left a space for you to be a "creator, director" (Interview 12, March 20, 1992, p. 11) was Science. The teacher was about to begin a new unit with her classes. You explained: "She said: 'Do whatever you like.' This was good because I had the freedom to discover and explore the curriculum and how I would like to interpret it for the students" (Journal Entry, March 8, 1992, p. 58).

The unit you introduced was "Sound." You had the students experiment with sound by making kazoos and flutes (Telephone Conversation, February 29, 1992, p. 1). The principal evaluated one lesson. In your postobservation conversation, you said: "I hope the students were not too noisy." He replied: "I would be more concerned if there was not a sound!" (Interview 11, March 3, 1992, p. 24).

In this extended teaching assignment, you encountered many other new experiences. One was dealing with students with behaviour problems. You explained your thoughts this way:

> When you are only in a class for a day as a substitute teacher, you can deal with problems in the short term... But when you are in a class on a long term basis, you have to figure out a way to live harmoniously in the classroom. (Journal Entry, March 8, 1992, p. 59)

Two boys, Terry and Trevor, especially presented difficulties for you. You spoke with the resource teacher about Terry's misbehaviour: "I felt, as the classroom teacher would, that it was important for me to figure out what was going on with the child and try to help him" (Journal Entry, March 8, 1992, p. 59-60)

Besides interpreting the curriculum and dealing with student behaviour, you had many other new experiences: interacting with parents, planning a field trip, and teaming with another teacher on an extended basis (Interview 12, March 20, 1992, p. 12-13). Because your placement was near a reporting period, you also had to make thorough notes on each child's progress. You developed an "awareness of what each student could do" (Interview 12, March 20, 1992, p. 13).

During this eight day assignment, you taught at Riverview during the day and worked at your grocery store job in the evenings. The eight days became a period of time where you "ate, slept, and lived work" (Telephone Conversation, February 29, 1991, p. 1). You explained your schedule this way:

> 6:30 A.M.-3:30 P.M.: Getting Ready for School, School
> 4:00 P.M.-9:00 P.M.: Grocery Store Job
> 9:00 P.M.-12:30 P.M.: Planning and Personal Stuff.
> (Interview 12, March 20, 1992, p. 22)

In spite of your taxing schedule, you found your placement "rewarding." You explained it this way:

> I knew where I was going and knew the planning and the preparation for it [the job]...It [My life] was not so chopped up...not three different lives...It amalgamated into one---at least it did in those eight days. (Interview 12, March 20, 1992, p. 23)

The eight days passed very quickly and was your "best" assignment yet. You felt "real" because you planned over a period of days and felt responsible for what happened (Interview 12, March 20, 1992, p. 11-12). You reflected on your "eight consecutive days of ownership" this way: "I really felt alive. I was playing an active role in my story in this classroom. I was in charge. I was playing out my story, not someone else's" (Journal Entry, March 8, 1992, p. 60).

Eight Consecutive Days of Ownership is a story which highlights a particular experience in your first eight months of beginning teaching. It tells about an extended placement you had as a beginning teacher.

Benita's Response

I enjoyed this placement very much. I had control over the classroom happenings even though I had to work within a frame. I felt empowered and real. I was able to build rapport with the students. I was no longer an outsider looking in but a player directly involved. All the things which are important to me as a teacher occurred in those 8 days.

Cheryl's Response

Your sense of ownership shows in the story and in your response. Your mention of "real" took me back to the connections you made between yourself and the Velveteen Rabbit in your first set of stories. This teaching situation seems to have been a context where you could be the teacher you would like to be.

"Teaching Consecutive Days"

This is one of Benita's telling stories of her first eight months of substitute teaching. It has been reconstructed by Cheryl. It relates to Cheryl's "Eight Consecutive Days of Ownership" and Benita's "Unexpected Ownership" story which follows. Each of these stories relates to Benita's previous "Ownership" story.

Margaret, a teacher at Riverview, had an unexpected emergency which took her away from the school for eight days. She requested you as her substitute teacher. Before the teacher left, she met with you briefly to plan for her absence. As you and she planned, you realized Margaret was putting a lot of faith in you. You said: "Margaret left lots up to me. I had to pull on my own resources." (Interview 13, April 21, 1992, p. 21).

In your journal you wrote about the "different types of things" (Interview 13, April 21, 1992, p. 21) which happened on this assignment. You organized your thoughts under two broad headings: "Curriculum" and "Behaviour Problems."

Under Curriculum, you wrote about your "open agenda" where you could decide what would be taught and when (Journal Entry, March 8, 1992, p. 57). You had some flexibility and choice in ordering the activities within the lesson plans. Secondly, Margaret was beginning a new unit in science. Again, she left you lots of space to be creative. You explained it this way: "She said: 'Do whatever you like.' This was good because I had freedom to discover and explore the curriculum and how I would interpret it for the students" (Journal Entry, March 8, 1992, p. 58.

Under Behaviour Problems, you focused on "surviving in a class day after day" (Journal Entry, March 8, 1992, p. 58). You were familiar with short term solutions to discipline problems. Being in a class with the same group of students every day required you to think about ways "to live harmoniously" as a group (Journal Entry, March 8, 1992, p. 58-59). You had difficulties with two students. Trevor was one of them. He had not previously been a major problem in the classroom. You said something was wrong in his world. The first day he got in so much trouble with other teachers, he went home without informing you or the school. It was a crisis for you when you noted his absence in the middle of a lesson. You spoke with the Assistant Principal about his difficulties. You decided to draw up a behaviour contract with him. If Trevor's classroom behaviour improved, he could earn ten minutes of free time at the end of the day. You did not feel the contract idea worked successfully with him. Later, his sister told you their home situation was very troubled. You learned she also was acting out at school.

Spending eight consecutive days in the same classroom was a very positive experience for you. You summarized it this way: "I really felt alive. I was playing an active role in my story in this classroom. I was in charge. I was playing out my story in this classroom" (Journal Entry, March 8, p. 58)

***"Teaching Consecutive Days"** is one of your telling stories of your first eight months of substitute teaching. Being in a stable place for a period of time offered you ownership experiences you were less likely to encounter in your transient position as a substitute teacher.*

Cheryl's Response

I find our two versions of your eight days of teaching at Riverview very similar. Yet, from this similar framework, you and I elaborate on different aspects of your teaching experiences. This is the fascinating part about reflective conversations and reflective writing. Each of our stories picks out certain parts and leaves other parts untold. Together our stories present a fuller account of your long term assignment at Riverview School.

Benita's Response

I concentrated on behaviour problems as a significant part of this story because I had thought long and hard about the difficult students I have encountered *as a beginning teacher. These experiences are the ones which university does not prepare you for. In the eight days, I was given an opportunity to experience a classroom in the "real" sense. I had to make the classroom "safe" for the children and myself. The regular teacher did not leave me in a supervisory role or leave the detailed "safe day" plan. I needed to make a safe day (similar to how Annie describes a safe day in her classroom) so that everyone involved could survive. I needed to have ownership.*

"Unexpected Ownership"

This is one of Benita's telling stories. It has been reconstructed by Cheryl. It relates to Cheryl's "Eight Consecutive Days of Ownership" and Benita's "Consecutive Days of Teaching." It also relates to Benita's "Ownership" story in the first collection of stories.

A Grade 1 teacher at Riverview School requested you to substitute teach for her. Joyce said she would have someone drop her lesson plan off at school for you. When you got to the school, you assumed the plan sketched out on paper on the desk was for you. You thought the plan was much like the plans Annie leaves for you. It gave you lots of freedom to interpret. You said Joyce's plan "left a lot of loopholes" (Interview 13, April 21, 1992, p. 3).

The first thing the students were to do was go on a field trip. The students had not been grouped with parent volunteers. You spoke with the other Grade 1 teachers to determine which students needed to be placed with you because of behaviour or health reasons. You then divided the rest of the class into groups based on friendships. You then "went on the field trip and had a great time" (Journal Entry, April 21, 1992, p. 69). Back at the school, you had a satisfying afternoon with the students.

In spite of her illness, Joyce came back to school in the evening for parent-teacher interviews. You wrote a note to her requesting more details for the second day you would be replacing her. You explained it this way: "The next day was a little too sketchy so I wrote her a note to clarify her plan" (Journal Entry, April 21, 1992, p. 69).

The next day you arrived at school to find a huge note of apology on the desk. The note was from another teacher who had neglected to give you Joyce's lesson plan for the previous day. You had taught the day from her notes on the desk. You were proud of how you had interpreted Joyce's notes. The many spaces in her "notes" provided you with the context for developing the ownership you seek.

On your second day in Joyce's classroom, you introduced two new activities. The first one was making birthday cards for Joyce whose birthday was the following day. The second one was story theatre. The students loved both these new activities. You came to an agreement with the students: "Every time we finish things early, we do story theatre" (Interview 13, April 21, 1992, p. 5). The students worked enthusiastically all day.

When Joyce returned to her class, she was very pleased, "tickled pink," with what you and the students had accomplished. She appreciated the birthday greetings and was very pleased with the students' acquired enthusiasm for story theatre. The students "begged" her to do story theatre with them. She came to ask you about it.

Later, you discovered your ***Unexpected Ownership*** *experience originated with a lost lesson plan, a potentially difficult situation for you and the students. As you laughed about the experience, you explained: "I did not even realize I did not receive the plan. I went on with the day and it was enjoyable. Joyce and I laughed about it. The kids did not even notice the difference" (Journal Entry, April 21, 1992, p. 69).*

Cheryl's Response

As you told me this story, I was reminded how the experience of not having an extensive lesson plan would upset many, or perhaps I should say, most substitute teachers; but not you. You took advantage of the unexpected space to write your own story. You shaped an ownership experience.

Benita's Response

The success of this day partially belongs to me being at Riverview on a regular basis. As time passes, I find that more day plans are left sketchy in classes I revisit.

"The Safe Day" Revisited

This is one of Cheryl's telling stories of Benita's first eight months as a substitute teacher. As the title suggests, the story relates to Benita's "Safe Day" story from the first exchange of stories. It also relates to Benita's "Ownership" story.

After we exchanged our telling stories, you, Annie and I got together to collaboratively discuss the stories we told. The one story we concentrated on was your telling of the **"Safe Day."** I offer our reflections on that story as a telling story because you said it offered you many new thoughts for reflection.

You and I each completed our written responses to your story and they are found with your **"Safe Day"** story. When we met with Annie, she shared with us this written response.

Annie's Response

> Benita's story lets me see that my own sense of a "safe day" bears no resemblance to the "safe days" I have previously constructed for substitute teachers. In attempting to live an ethic of caring for the children of my class, each day becomes "a safe day." I would not be doing my job if I could not say this. But I recognize that all that I am as a teacher shapes the look of my days; days spent exploring the possibilities of interactive learning. Working this way, I feel the delicacy of the relationships that exist within my classroom community. We are like mountaineers on the safe edge of a snow cornice, knowing that if the cornice fractures, we would not be swept away in an avalanche. We would be safe. My "safe days" are exciting but I know that in planning for a substitute teacher my plans do not allow for a similar experience.

> Benita's story lets me see that my substitute teachers may not even have set foot on the mountain. My day plans, unknowingly, might only have left room for them to locate the mountain in the guide book. Perhaps like Benita they have felt the frustration of a day so safe, the children do not even need climbing gear! Is the day like a "white-out," when poor visibility hampers progress; calling a halt to the climb?
>
> In thinking hard about Benita's story, I will plan differently for my next substitute teacher. I will still create a safe plan; one that avoids corniced edges, but I will also allow for the experience and challenge of the mountain.

After Annie shared her response with us, we began to discuss how each of us had constructed "the safe day." As you and Annie spoke, it became clear each of you had imbued the phrase, "the safe day," with your own meanings. Annie described her "safe day" as: "A knowing which helps you feel safe." You responded with: "Safe is when you have ownership and interaction" (Interview 11, March 3, 1992, p. 42-44). Hence, we came to see Annie's construction as being quite different from your construction and my reconstruction. You talked about how you had lived a continuum of experiences. On one end, there were days where you supervised kids "like watching television all day" (Interview 12, March 20, 1992, p. 10). In these experiences, the students worked independently and did not interact with you. On the other end, you described days where you had more ownership for the activities and more interaction with the students. You said the safe day which Annie described for herself was akin to your **"Ownership"** story. In your **"Ownership"** day, you would be the safest. You described it this way: "I would have ownership for what I am doing...[I would have] interactions, genuine conversations, planning, and figuring out...a start and a finish to things" (Interview 11, March 3, 1992, p. 36).

In sum, you would be "living [your] own story" when you had **"Ownership"** experiences (Interview 11, March 3, 1992, p. 37). As Annie listened to your explanation, she noted that voice had a lot to do with the differences between your safe days and your ownership days. She pointed out: "When you do not have ownership, you do not have voice" (Interview 11, March 3, 1992, p. 11). This provided all of us with a different lens through which to explore your **"Safe Day"** and **"Ownership"** stories.

This shared conversation was important to each of us as we collaboratively tried to make sense of your substitute teaching experiences. Without the shared conversation, you, Annie, and I would each be shaping our individual constructions and assuming we understood what each other meant. Our collaborative inquiry enabled us to further unpack your "safe day" and "ownership" stories as one aspect of your beginning teacher experiences. In a follow-up interview, you called our talk with Annie "a big conversation" (Interview 12, March 20, 1992, p. 9). You said it "sparked" a lot of thoughts which you wished to explore further (Interview 12, March 20, 1992, p. 2).

Benita's Response

This story illustrates how important communication and collaboration really are. Without this conversation, we would have gone on with our separate interpretations of the "safe day." Annie has a special way of probing my thinking, to dig deeper, to get me away from the surface, to find real meanings. You and Annie help me make sense of my teaching experience because you are on the outside, objective, and able to share similar experiences.

Cheryl's Response

Yes, communication and collaboration are vital. We each help each other to make sense. You particularly mention that Annie and I help you. I want to emphasize that you also help us.

You discuss how you are able to reflect on your experiences with us and that we share our experiences with you. We bring a different objectivity to our conversation about your experiences but I do think that makes us totally objective. Our desire to help you make sense of teaching and our commitment to the collaborative relationship necessarily involves our own subjectivity.

Annie's Response

Collaborative conversation allows our subjectivities to surface. I become "voiced up." I voice my knowing among trusted colleagues who make their thinking visible to me. It is often a revelation. It causes me to reflect further in the way that Benita describes. I become more thoughtful and more aware of multiple perceptions and ways of being. In this way I make more sense of my own practice. I become open to new possibilities; open to the process of change.

Images of Team Teaching

This is one of Cheryl's telling stories of Benita's first eight months of substitute teaching. It is followed by Benita's "Team Teaching" story.

In this story, I tell about a particular experience you had in one school and how the teachers' knowledge of team teaching was different from your knowledge. You lived a tension in the situation and became consciously aware of your preferred image of team teaching.

You went to Rolling Hills School to fill a two week assignment for a teacher in a team teaching situation. You, Annie, and I had a conversation about your experience at the school:

B: The teaming situation...was difficult...It was "you teach this...this is your responsibility" and "I teach this...this is my responsibility," and "don't you dare come and ask me to do something that is not my area."

A: The dividing up approach.

B: Dividing up, yes. You do family life, I'll do social studies; you do science, I'll do mathematics...

C: So you were not really working together, your tasks were just backing up against one another?

B: Well, they did Language Arts together. They kind of did the same things...but it was a "you are responsible for this [approach to team teaching]. I do not know whether I could team with them. (Interview 11, March 3, p. 16)

This new experience of team teaching did not fit with your knowledge. "Dividing up" subjects and tasks was not the way you would teach with a partner. You reflected on your practicum team teaching experiences when you worked with Annie Davies, your co-operating teacher, and Hanna, another student teacher. Your experience had been team partners "collaborating... having an open, honest relationship with one another... bouncing ideas off one another...listening to each other" (Journal Entry, April 2, 1991). You began to unravel what in your present experience of teaming was so different from your past experience.

You and your teaching partner at Rolling Hills did not work together like you and Annie or you and Hanna. In your brief experience of teaming with her, you felt "she was in charge and you were not competent enough" (Interview 11, March 3, 1992, p. 18). It seemed like she had a voice which silenced you. You were also accustomed to team planning but the two teachers on the team at Rolling Hills planned separately. You tried to work from the absent teacher's plan but the other team partner kept interrupting you. You felt she was a "controlling person" who attempted to control both you and the students (Interview 11, March 3, 1992, p. 18). The silence in the classroom and the teacher's loud voice troubled you. You did not like how you found yourself becoming a loud teacher in this situation. A third thing which troubled you was how the red pen was used in a manner which seemed to shut down the students' writing. Our conversation continued:

C: It was like teaming with somebody whose teaching style does not [fit with your own]...
B: Yes. We were at opposite ends.
C: Now you say opposite ends. [You have already said] she was controlling, so what are you?
B: I am more collaborative...(Interview 11, March 3, 1992, p. 20)

Annie agreed with you and spoke about her knowing of you as a team partner.

A: You have got a strong feel for wanting to collaborate and a strong feel for the teaming, the dialogue, and all of that. It is like when you experienced this teaming [situation], you went "no," it [teaming] is not like this."
B: It is not my image. No. (Interview 11, March 3, 1992, p. 25-26)

This experience of team teaching created a tension for you. The image of team teaching you experienced was very different from the image you hold and have expressed in previous teaming situations. This prompted you to think hard about how you would really like to team teach. **Images of Team Teaching** became one of your telling stories for your first eight months of teaching.

Benita's Response

I have seen and heard the two images of team teaching (my own image and the image in the placement) in a variety of teaming situations. I know one situation where the teachers just plan together and another situation where the teachers belong to a team but go their own ways. I also know a third situation where the teachers plan together, join their classes together, share the preparation load, and dialogue about occurrences in the classroom. This story caused me to focus on what I know about teaming and what I have experienced. But most importantly, it caused me to figure out what teaming means to me!

Cheryl's Response

What you have learned about team teaching is very interesting. It seems you have experienced many different constructions of what teaming is. It is interesting how these experiences have become part of a conversation you are continuing to have with yourself, Annie, and me about team teaching.

Team Teaching

This is one of Benita's telling stories which she wrote in her journal, April 2, 1992. It relates to Cheryl's telling story "Images of Team Teaching."

Monica team teaches with Joan in a shared classroom situation. Monica left me a brief outline of what she wanted accomplished while she was absent. Monica and Joan's image of team teaching is not the image of team teaching with which I am familiar. I am accustomed to team partners collaborating and having an open and honest relationship. I am used to a team partner being a person to bounce ideas off of and maybe even a person who just listens while you think aloud.

Hanna, my friend from practicum, and I had this type of teaming. We were supportive of one another. When we were preparing to teach a new unit, we researched and discovered together. We were equals.

When I worked with Annie, we equally contributed ideas. Yet, Annie was an experienced teacher and I was a practicum student.

This was not the image of team teaching I experienced with Monica and Joan. It seemed these teachers divided up tasks and subjects. In this case, one teacher would be responsible for all the preparation and teaching of certain subjects to both classes. In one respect, I guess it was easier for them to prepare because they only had to do half the work. But I prefer to be involved, to know what is going on and where the class is headed.

Monica left me plans to carry out in her absence. When I began to teach from Monica's plans, Joan would interrupt me and change the assignments. Because

I was in front of the students, it was not the appropriate time or place to say: "Well, that is not what I was told to do." I tried to adapt to the new instructions. This happened on several occasions, Joan bursting in and changing the task.

After awhile, Joan also became ill. Another substitute teacher came in to take her place. I really enjoyed this situation. I felt like I was in charge of things. When I say "in charge," I do not mean power in the sense of a power trip but in the sense that I was really focused. I knew where I was going and what I was doing. I could collaborate with the substitute teacher. We could talk about what happened during the day and the possibilities we could see for the following day. This felt good and I was comfortable with team teaching again.

Cheryl's Response

As I read your **Team Teaching** story, I was reminded of your image of "real teaching" explored in your first collection of stories. I was taken by the congruency between what I believe to be one of your images of teaching and your preferred image of "team teaching" described in this story. I see many connections between how you would teach as an individual and how you would teach on a team.

I also thought about how your past experiences were contributing to your present knowing of team teaching. I thought about how your image of team teaching had developed during practicum. I thought about how you carried this image with you and how you felt tension when other teachers acted in ways which conflicted with your knowing. I found it interesting that you and another substitute teacher were able to team teach in a way where you both felt "comfortable." It seemed to me you and she were able to feel like "equals." I sensed you did not feel this way with Joan. I got the sense she did not make spaces for your voice and you lost your sense of "being in charge," your personal agency. I then could see parallels between Annie's comments about voice in your **The Safe Day Revisited** story and my comments about voice here. I could see voice was important for you to have agency and ownership.

Benita's Response

Working with Joan, I felt very inadequate because I had very little knowledge of the situation. At first, I thought Joan would know what Monica wanted done but when things started to conflict, I began to wonder. Joan did not leave any room for my personal professional growth. She was trying to create a safe day. In some ways, I was thankful for her help. In other ways, I was frustrated by her because I felt confident in what I was doing. I felt overpowered when Joan tried to control what was happening in both classrooms. In the end, I felt voiceless. When I got to work with the other substitute, I gained voice and we were able to collaborate.

CHAPTER VI

KNOWLEDGE COMMUNITIES

Introduction

In this chapter, I conceptualize the notion of knowledge communities as a way of making sense of how Tim and Benita constructed and reconstructed knowledge in their professional contexts. In chapters 4 and 5 Tim, Benita, and I constructed telling stories of their beginning teaching experiences. I turn now to trying to make sense of the way Tim's and Benita's personal knowledge experiences in these stories shaped and were shaped by their professional knowledge contexts. My conceptualization of knowledge communities focuses on Tim and Benita as they storied and restoried their narratives of experience with particular people in their contexts.

Fish's notion (1980) of an interpretive community was a starting point for my conceptualization of a knowledge community. The way Fish conceptualized interpretive communities helped me make sense of knowledge communities. Interpretive communities, for Fish, "produce meaning." People with whom we share text have a shaping effect on the meaning we make of text. Textual meaning is negotiated with those people with whom we make sense; these people Fish calls our interpretive communities.

Interpretive communities are groups of people who share interpretive strategies before the reading of text. These shared strategies are learned. Members of the same interpretive communities agree on their interpretations of text because they agree with the goals and purposes of their communities. A particular interpretive community decides what is noticeable in a particular text and the authority of the text resides in the meaning the community ascribes to it. In my reading of Fish, I see a dialectical relationship between the subjective and the objective and the personal and the public in interpretive communities, a view consistent with Dewey's view of knowledge.

Fish believes individuals belong to multiple interpretive communities and share different texts with different interpretive communities. We leave one interpretive community and join others when our readings of text shift and our interpretive communities are no longer relevant to us. Fish (1980) refers to the assumptions shared by a community as "marks." Marks are the interpretive strategies which interpretive communities use to interpret text. Our "fellowships" denote the interpretive communities to which we belong and gestures and tacit understandings convey our shared memberships.

Tentative Conceptualization of Knowledge Communities

Fish's notion (1980) of interpretive communities was a starting point for me to think about how Tim and Benita made sense of their teaching experiences in their communities. As I began to think about the distant parallels between my work and Fish's, I found myself asking: With whom did Tim and Benita seek meaning for their experiences? Who were Tim's and Benita's knowledge communities? I realized my research topic was fundamentally different from Fish's work as a literary theorist. Yet, there was a similarity which could inform this present work about how beginning teachers construct knowledge and reconstruct knowledge in their teaching experiences.

I view the communities where Tim and Benita negotiated meaning for their experiences as knowledge communities, a conceptualization nested in the notion of Tim and Benita working in professional knowledge contexts and coming to know professional context knowledge in situations. The metaphors in Chapter 3, "experience is text" and "research is conversation," complement the notion of knowledge communities. The text of this study is beginning teacher experience, made known in conversations and re-presented in telling stories. The texts emerge out of collaborative conversations (Hollingsworth, 1992) which enabled Tim's and Benita's thinking to be made visible. The telling stories woven from the conversations and the research stories which traverse the "telling stories" illustrate how fresh knowledge emerges in community and how "horizons of knowing" (Greene, 1988) are renegotiated.

In this work, I understand knowledge communities to be groups of two or more people who meaningfully associate with one another. The people in our knowledge communities are the people with whom we story and restory our narratives of experiences. They are people with whom we carry on sustained conversations; people with whom we have "sustained encounters" (Ellsworth, 1989). Furthermore, the people in our knowledge communities listen to and respond to our stories of experience. The meanings we hold for the shared experiences become "transfigured" (Dewey, 1934) as we both shape and are shaped by our knowledge communities situated in our professional knowledge contexts.

My conceptualization of knowledge communities embraces Dewey's notion of knowledge as a sense of knowing, the origins of the word community: *communitas* meaning *fellowship* and *communis* meaning *common* and the origin of the word conversation *commune*, meaning *to dwell together*. A knowledge community, to me, is a group of people "dwelling together" in common meaning which is storied and restoried through conversations which shape and are shaped in community.

In the next section, I present two stories which illustrate Tim and Benita making sense in their professional knowledge contexts and show Tim and Benita shaping and being shaped in context. These stories highlight particular people with whom they negotiate meaning. After the presentation of each story, I comment on what I have learned about Tim's and Benita's knowledge communities. Lastly, I illuminate particular features of knowledge communities embedded in professional knowledge contexts.

Tim

Tim's "Healthy School" Story

Background

The people on Tim's school staff were a part of Tim's situations as he was a part of their situations. Tim shaped and was shaped by the people with whom he shared a professional knowledge context. In this story, I concentrate on the people in Tim's school and Kirkpatrick School as a place where Tim's personal practical knowledge was shaped by his professional knowledge context. I unpack particular situations which illustrate Tim's expression of his knowledge as shaping and being shaped in his school context. The story centres on Tim coming to know about the "healthy school," a school story Tim named toward the end of his first year of teaching. The "healthy school" involves many characters who are Tim's colleagues. Stories told by individual staff members illuminate Tim's story and describe the professional knowledge context he shared with them. I set the scene for the "healthy school" story with two accounts which tell about Kirkpatrick School and staff change at the school. I next introduce "the healthy school" story as Tim told it. I then weave in the ways the principal's image of himself as rebel plays out in the story. This piece provides additional background to Tim's "telling stories" and important insights into staff discussions. The individual accounts included in this chapter have been presented to the people involved and have been used with their permission.

Setting the Stage: The Storied Past of Kirkpatrick School

Jean, the school secretary, told me school stories. She had been at Kirkpatrick School since its opening 16 years ago. The school has had three principals: the first one for 4 years, the second one for 9 years, and Victor who was now in his third year (Telephone Conversation, May 20, 1992, p. 1). Jean said many long-time staff members had recently transferred out of Kirkpatrick. Only she and one teacher, Marj, have remained on staff since the school opened. Over her 16 years as early childhood aide, school aide, and school secretary, Jean has become attached to the students and the community. The community represents a "real range" in socioeconomic circumstance, from families on welfare to families where both parents are professionals. Jean emphasized she saw herself as providing "continuity" to the parents and the school especially when there were administrative changes (Participant Observation Notes, December 5, 1991, p. 7).

Setting the Stage: One Teacher's Story of Staff Change

A teacher who had taught at Kirkpatrick for several years shared with me her account of staff change as she had experienced it. Both she and Tim noted changes in the staff between Tim's first and second year of teaching.

When the teacher first joined the staff, she said the school appeared to be run by individual teachers and groups of teachers. The administration did not favour central decision-making. She described teachers who had "strong links" to senior school system administration. These connections, from her point of view, intimidated the staff. She spoke of the staff's response this way: "...They were very cautious of what they said in the staff room...People became very, very careful..." (November 14, 1991, p. 1-2). Some teachers felt silenced.

Victor was highly involved in an educational organization which frequently took him out of the school in his first year at Kirkpatrick. In his first two years, she saw Victor "trying to get a handle on the [school] situation" (November 14, 1992, p. 4). A number of confrontations occurred where "...people would...make a decision and not inform anyone else on staff...or Victor." After a few conflicts, Victor began to observe how the staff was functioning. One thing Victor introduced was the day book in the office, a practice new to the school. A lack of communication was seen as a source of staff problems.

The teacher likened the staff's coming to know Victor as being similar to the change process. She described the staff's reaction to a new principal this way: "People deal with change in different ways. Some people were very accepting of it; some people were very threatened by it. The staff experienced the full spectrum of emotions dealing with the administrative change" (November 14, 1992, p. 2-3). In working with Victor, some of the "power...people" felt he threatened their "autonomy." Some transferred from the school. The teacher explained that: "The...groups...on staff [were] disbanded... A lot of people who left had been on the staff in excess of ten years [and had] lots of time to build up personal power" (November 14, 1991, p. 1).

The teacher had a very positive attitude toward the staff which came together in Tim's second year of teaching. She described the staff as being "very, very bonded and open to new ideas" (November 14, 1992, p. 1). She particularly talked about the teachers new to the staff: "This year there are a lot of new people and they are trying to find out what is going on and they are dealing with nuts and bolts issues" (November 14, 1992, p. 3). The teacher compared the new teachers on staff to beginning teachers. She said they were groping to find support materials, textbooks, and supplies. She said: "I could hear them crying out on our organizational day: 'Don't give me anymore stuff; I have not figured out my own space yet.'" The teacher credited Victor with trying to ease their situations. He introduced a Welcoming Committee to the school and had people like Tim serve on it.

The teacher has come to understand why principals have to be in schools for more than three years. She said it takes a long time for principals to get "bonded" with a staff. She now realizes how hard it must be for principals to try to carry out a vision when they are just getting a sense of the staff and the school (November 14, 1991, p. 2).

Setting the Stage: The Healthy School, Year 1: Tim Lives and Learns a School Story

Tim was not placed in his first teaching position until after the opening days of school. He was not at Kirkpatrick when plans were made for the school year. As a character arriving late on the scene, Tim lived a school story which others had shaped and he was left trying to **"Find (His) Spot, His Niche"** as he indicates in this excerpt:

> I am just kind of sitting in the background right now ...I can tell there are some teachers on staff who agree with administrative policies and practices and some people do not, of course...I am just kind of staying in the background this year...There's some strong personalities and very strong people. (Interview 1, October 27, 1990, p. 4)

As a beginning teacher new to the school, Tim did not have a school story. He began to construct a story based on his initial observations and experiences with the staff. Differences of opinion on staff, along with his beginning teacher position, caused Tim to remain silent and "in the background."

Tim also did not have stories of experience from working in other schools. For example, in a discussion of the implementation of the provincial and board Program Continuity policy, Tim said: "I am not sure where it came from...I did not show up until two weeks after the rest of the staff..." (Interview 2, November

14, 1990, p. 13). Tim then mentioned program continuity as having something to do with school goals. When I inquired whether Tim knew the goals of Kirkpatrick School, he replied: "I am afraid I could not tell you" (Interview 2, November 14, 1990, p. 13). Because he missed the opening days of school, Tim did not have background information other teachers had. Tim endeavoured to be part of a school story he did not know. He was being shaped by initiatives and practices known by the school staff, but not by himself.

In his first year of teaching, Tim initially felt "obligated" to engage in extracurricular activities and events (Interview 12, December 11, 1991, p. 18). He observed what other teachers were doing and assumed he also had to do the activities. Tim was shaped by the staff's behaviour and came to describe his experience as being "on the treadmill." Tim's **On the Treadmill** and **Significant Events in My First Year of Teaching** stories stood out for him in his first year collection of telling stories:

> Tim particularly mentioned the treadmill story...He said he was left with a question: How did he ever survive the first year [of teaching]?... Tim said he was so much a part of it, he could not see it. He mentioned the expression of not seeing the forest for the trees. Tim said that metaphor most aptly described how he felt about the "treadmill." (Interview 11, November 8, 1991, p. 1)

The abundance of school activities both consumed and perplexed Tim as a new teacher on the edge of his school staff. Near the end of his first year of teaching, Tim questioned another teacher about the purpose of the activities. The teacher responded: "Teachers at Kirkpatrick have to do all these activities for the school to be a healthy school. Schools where these activities do not occur are dead schools" (Lunch Conversation, May 30, 1991, p. 2).

The school story ascribed the notion of health, usually associated with people, to an institution, the school. The story measured the institution's health by the activities in which the people engage. Connections between the school story and a commonly understood school system story were evident. Kirkpatrick had a long history of involvement in school system projects. Schools involved in projects were viewed as healthy places. At the system level, there also was an association between participation/activity and health.

The teacher knew this story about healthy schools from her experiences in the school and in the system. Her response to Tim's question shut down his conversation with her; there was no exploration past the answer. The teacher did not question her sense-making; the relationship between activities teachers engage in and the story of the school were her reality. The teacher's answer became material for a conversation Tim continued to have with himself and with me. This was the beginning of Tim's awakening to a school story he was living.

Tim did not agree with the knowledge that the teacher shared with him. His unspoken response to her "healthy school" story was: "Better dead schools than dead teachers!" (Response to **"On The Treadmill"/Significant Events in My**

First Year of Teaching). Tim felt teachers had been doing too much. Tim and I discussed his reaction to the "healthy school" story:

C: ... a teacher told you that you had to do all those things for the school to be a healthy school...

T: Yes. She said schools that do not do all this stuff are dead, but I disagree. I think you can do enough and there is a point beyond which is too much. (Interview 7, July 3, 1991, p. 42)

The "healthy school" story did not fit with Tim's experience in his first year of teaching. He felt the tension which the constant planning and living of activities created for him and his colleagues. Tim did not like living the "healthy school" story. He knew "how the days wrapped around each other without a spare moment" (Participant Observation Notes, November 28, 1991, p. 12). Tim thought activities in the school needed to be reviewed.

After his conversation with the teacher, Tim began to question his knowledge. Because the teacher was more experienced and had been at the school for a number of years, he felt she was in a better position to know the situation. Tim did not have her breadth of experience, experience which, from his beginning teacher perspective, seemed to privilege her knowledge. Perhaps the school story she shared with him was something he needed to know? Perhaps he missed something in his first year of teaching? Perhaps she knew "the" story? On two occasions when we discussed this topic, Tim discounted his personal knowledge when the teacher's knowledge was mentioned: "I do not know, I mean I am just a new teacher, okay?" (Lunch Conversation, May 30, 1991, p. 2). Even though Tim felt he was involved in too many activities, he did not feel his knowledge mattered after the teacher told him "the healthy school" story. Tim's sense-making became tenuous; his raised eyebrows signalled he was questioning his knowledge. Tim was having difficulty believing his experience.

The second instance when Tim devalued his personal knowledge, I shifted the conversation back to Tim's knowledge:

T: I do not know. I mean I am just a beginning teacher.
C: Yes, but you experienced it [too many activities; the treadmill] yourself.
T: Oh, yes...and experienced teachers in our school felt there was too much. So if people like Joyce and Rhonda who will do anything are getting burnt out, we need to step back and take a look at the problem. (Interview 7, July 3, 1991, p. 42)

Tim attempted to make sense of his knowledge by validating it with other people's experiences. Joyce and Rhonda had taught at Kirkpatrick for over ten years and had enthusiastically participated in an abundance of school activities. They were "powerful movers," "unofficial leaders," "cornerstone people, "two of the most 'positive' people on staff" (Interview 7, July 3, 1991, p. 22-23). Tim understood Joyce and Rhonda's places in the school context. He had observed how they were living "the healthy school" story. Their opinions and situations mattered to Tim; they were opinion leaders in the school. Tim integrated their experiences into his knowledge of school activities. Joyce's and Rhonda's fatigue became part of how he made sense of the other teacher's "healthy school" story. Through quoting their experiences, Tim was able to make his own knowledge more plausible.

But Tim did not rely solely on Joyce and Rhonda to validate his knowledge. He also relied on Victor and his response to school activities:

T: ...At the end of the year...on the organizational day...Victor said he had a concern about the number of things we have been doing. Not the quality or anything like that, but just the number of things we were doing... He has identified it as a problem...either someone came to him or he identified it himself. (Interview 7, July 3, 1991, p. 42-43)

Victor's identification of the "problem" fit with Tim's knowledge of the situation, validated Tim's knowledge and lent credibility to Tim's understanding of the situation. This gave Tim confidence to further unpack his knowledge. Our conversation continued:

C: Yes, because it seemed like all year you always had something to do in addition to teaching.
T: Always, always...I said my perception was that people were very tired and it was because of the overlap of major events and activities. I felt with more careful advance planning we would help eliminate some of that.
C: Yes, because you had reporting periods and interviews overlapping with the activities and events...
T: So we need to see the whole thing...as a big picture rather than piece by piece...(Interview 7, July 3, 1991, p. 42-44)

Tim named the problem as too many activities, overlapping activities, and planning difficulties. The teacher who earlier told the story of staff change provided background which illuminates the problems Tim came to know. She mentioned teachers pursuing activities without communicating their intentions with the administration or the rest of the staff. It seemed the "piece[s]" Tim was mentioning were the activities which individual teachers or groups of teachers were doing which, along with the academic program, overlapped one another. "A big picture," as Tim put it, had not been collaboratively agreed upon.

Tim came to know problems inherent in "the healthy school" by living them. He, however, did not accept his knowledge until it was validated by others.

Having named the overabundance of activities as a difficulty, Tim was able to see an overabundance of meetings as an associated problem.

In his first year, Tim was involved in grade meetings, division meetings, staff meetings, and organizational and professional days, not to mention special day planning sessions. Tim recognized meetings did not relate to his teaching. He described his feelings this way:

> I felt most of my time was focused on group goals or school goals or some kind of [common] task...not so much our [teaching] practices ...there was not a lot of individual sharing about what was going on in my classroom or in my situation about how I am thinking about teaching right now. (Interview 10, August 3, 1991, p. 9)

Tim felt he only gathered with other teachers to discuss topics of common interest concerning "the healthy school" story. Personal teaching experiences were seldom a part of the "agendas" (Response to **"Listening To The Children"**). The times Tim met with other teachers were structured around topics which were an addendum to his teaching practices. Meetings were not places where teachers were open to each other's teaching experiences. Viewed through Tim's tree and forest metaphor, Tim and his colleagues were engaged in the setting up or living of the next "tree" in a "forest" of activities, contributing to the "healthy school." In meetings, Tim felt immersed in "trees" with no view of the "forest." This description resonated with Tim's talk about the staff working with "pieces" rather than the "big picture." Tim's reference points were the next "tree" or "piece," each tree or piece an obstacle to overcome, an activity to complete. His experiences of activities and events became routinized as the cycle of the school year clipped by him. He lacked continuity (Dewey, 1916) between the trees and the forest, the pieces and the big picture. Tim turned to questions about how he "survived."

While Tim thought about survival within "the healthy school" story, other teachers related his involvement in activities as a sign of health. For example, the teacher who shared Kirkpatrick's story of "the healthy school" with Tim commented at the end of his first year:

> Tim has learned many things this year, most of which are outside his job description as a teacher. For example, he has been the Master of Ceremonies for the Sports Day Assembly... and [has] been very active in public relations activities such as the School Carnival and the Spring Concert. (Participant Observation Notes, June 12, 1991, p. 4)

Tim's development as a teacher was being connected to "the healthy school" story. The things Tim learned outside his classroom became notable contributions to "the healthy school." What Tim did inside his classroom was not visible to others. Conversations about Tim's teaching practices were not shared.

When Tim discussed how his before-school, noon hour and after-school time was spent, I asked him whether he needed unstructured time to reflect with his colleagues. Tim responded:

T: Oh, yes. Oh, yes. I definitely see a need for it because it all gets back to wellness and reflection...We are doing too much to make time for ourselves and our own professional needs or our own wellness needs...We need time to think about and communicate what we are doing as teachers ... Because we are so focused on doing things for other people, we forget about ourselves. (Interview 10, August 2, 1991, p. 9)

Tim connected "doing things for other people" with the teacher's telling of "the healthy school" story. He introduced the word, wellness, a school system goal, to our conversations and linked wellness with professional needs. Wellness became an ongoing part of Tim's language, a word laced throughout our conversations. Wellness began to frame Tim's sense of knowledge. Wellness was his way of surviving "the healthy school" story. Tim knew if he was not mindful of wellness, his health would be sucked away by "the healthy school." Tim was alive to the "dead teachers" side of the healthy school story. (Response to **"On The Treadmill"/Significant Events in My First Year of Teaching**)

Tim did not openly voice his opinion in his first year of teaching. He privately named reflection as one thing he wished to emphasize in his second. Our talk continued:

C: ...You spend a lot of time talking about sports day, ice carnival, festival, those kinds of things, things the staff is doing collectively.

T: Yes, instead of focusing on our own teaching practices. So if there is one thing I would try and push through next year, if the promotion of wellness becomes a committee function, I would try and push or encourage reflection among the staff. It is time for us to just get together to talk about how we are doing. (Interview 10, August 2, 1991, p. 9-10)

Tim again linked reflection with wellness. Even though Tim had kept a journal and engaged in reflective conversations as part of his practicum experiences, he did not call this knowledge forth to support teacher reflection. Instead, Tim connected reflective practices to the "healthy school." Tim's sense making was becoming context specific; his language was particular to his situation in the school and school system. The "healthy school" story was subtly shaping how Tim expressed his knowledge.

I questioned Tim about the constraints which might hamper his push for reflective practice. At first, Tim mentioned time, then added: "I guess people [need to] make a conscious effort to set time aside and say we will do nothing else during this time...I think if people made it a priority...it could happen" (Interview 10, August 2, 1991, p. 10). Tim knew that without a "conscious effort" his school staff would be unable to bring reflection and wellness into the "healthy school" story. His school staff could only change the story through shared consciousness. Tim's comment reminded me of the "big picture" and how knowing the "big picture" would save teachers from being immersed in the "pieces," "fragmented by other agendas" (Tim's Response to **"Listening To The Children"**). On the other side of this piecemeal approach to "the healthy school," Tim saw reflection and wellness as a "forest" landscape for his version of "a healthy school." Tim's "forest" would concentrate on "how we are doing." Tim understood knowing as an active process rather than a fixed product (Dewey, 1938).

As Tim linked reflection and wellness in his conversation, he attempted to balance his knowledge of the two worlds where he had been cultivated. In the Alternative practicum, reflection was nurtured and in his school, "the healthy school" story was nurtured. By connecting reflection and wellness, Tim sought to bridge a tension he felt between the two professional knowledge contexts where he had been cultivated.

When Tim became aware of "the healthy school" story and how it formed the interpretive backdrop for his **"On the Treadmill"** and **Significant Events in My First Year of Teaching** stories, he was determined to change the scene. Tim awakened to a school story which was shaping his knowledge. He began to explore other ways the story could be lived.

Setting the Stage: Victor, Principal of Kirkpatrick School, Principal as Rebel

In my collaborative work with Tim, I also came to know Victor. We had numerous conversations and developed a trusting relationship. I came to see how Victor held an image of principal as rebel and expressed it in his leadership practices. I also came to understand how Victor, like Tim, needed someone with whom to discuss his practices. Victor was an important character in Tim's professional knowledge context. Through exploring Victor's image of the principalship, I came to better understand Kirkpatrick School as a place where Tim developed his professional knowledge.

I began to work in Tim's classroom in January, 1991 but I was not at the school on a regular basis until May. Victor's and my relationship did not develop until I was visibly and relationally a part of the staff. Victor often initiated conversations with me as I did with him. I believe we mutually communicated in ways which probed the deeper meanings we held for our educational practices.

Victor shared his image of principal as rebel with me, an image which repeatedly was part of our conversations and evident in his practices (Conversation with Victor, June 6, 1991, p. 2). Victor described rebels as "people who think a little differently than mainstream people"; people who do "not swallow hook, line, and sinker everything they are told in the system" (Conversation with Victor, December 18, 1992, p. 2; June 6, 1992, p. 2). He said principals like himself yearn to express their true feelings with others. As Victor shared his knowledge, I realized my collaboration would not only be with Tim, but would also extend to Victor.

At first, I felt Victor was checking me out to see if our views were compatible. I wrote about it this way:

> He questioned me about what was important [in the practice of education]. I said I wanted to do things with which I morally agreed. I wanted the things I do to be in the best interests of students and

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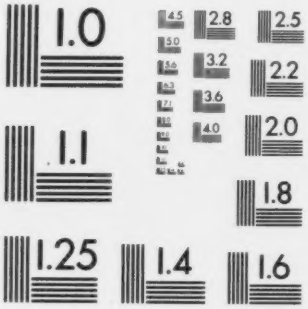
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> teachers. In the end, I said I needed to please myself because I had to live with the things I do in my career and how they impact on others. (Participant Observation Notes, June 6, 1991, p. 2)

After my response, I realized he had taken me into his confidence: "I could tell by his body language and his comments I was answering the questions the way he would like me to..." (Participant Observation Notes, June 6, 1991, p. 2).

In our conversations, I came to understand more fully some of the dilemmas Victor faced as a principal and how these dilemmas impacted on Tim's stories. At the same time, my conversations with Victor illuminated how Tim had cast Victor as a character in his stories.

Victor expressed his rebel image in his hiring practices. Towards the end of Tim's first year of teaching, Victor was looking for a resource teacher to fill a vacancy. An experienced resource teacher had been recommended by system officials. In my reflections, I wrote about Victor's response to the hiring situation:

> I can see he is open to having a newcomer fill the position. He talks of fresh ideas and fresh possibilities with much the same passion as he talks about beginning teachers. Victor is not bound to entrenched beliefs about seniority and experience in the school system. (Conversation with Victor, June 18, 1991, p. 1)

Victor not only thought about the rebel image; he enacted it. He hired a person new to the position.

Victor also expressed his rebel image when he protected Tim's teaching position. If Victor had followed the guidelines, the position would have been filled by an experienced teacher. Victor, however, disagreed with beginning teachers being "bounced from school to school." He felt it was "not healthy for beginning teachers or the school system" (Participant Observation Notes, May 30, 1991, p. 3). Victor's attempt to protect Tim's position, however, was thwarted by school system policy. Victor "regretted being a principal" when he told Tim he would be the surplus teacher (Conversation with Victor, September 17, 1991, p. 6). Brent, however, stepped in and volunteered to be transferred. He and Victor talked about how the his transfer would benefit both teachers. Victor worked in the background as a rebel.

Because Victor lives the story of "a rebel," he recognizes he is not chosen to sit on high profile committees dealing with policy formation or administrative appointments. Even though he has seniority and has been a principal of many large schools, he is excluded from committees because he "does not espouse the prevailing ideology." If Victor was placed on committees, he said he would choose people who would do jobs well "not because they know how to play the game" (Conversation with Victor, May 30, 1991, p. 3; June 18, 1991, p. 1). Victor told the story of a teacher who applied for a leadership position. Because he knew how qualified she was, he inquired as to why she was not appointed. "She knows too much" was the response he received. Victor thought this reason was unconscionable. Situations such as this one fuelled Victor's ongoing rebellion.

At the same time as the school system excluded Victor from key decision-making committees, Victor limited the school system's impact on the school and staff members. I noted his rebel image as he worked with the staff in August, 1991:

> I noticed how Victor...let the staff carry the discussion...The times he said anything which revealed himself was in resisting mandates: the number of minutes of instruction for Grade 1 students, a provincial mandate and the decree that every school should have a sign-in book, a school system mandate. (Reflections on Organizational Day, August 29, 1991, p. 1)

The mandate that schools have teacher attendance books particularly concerned one teacher who felt it detracted from teachers' professionalism. Victor responded: "We have got by without using it...and I think we can continue to get by without using it...It is a system directive but we will continue the old way" (Organizational Day Notes, August 29, 1991, p. 22). At the same time as Victor protected certain practices, he held others open for scrutiny. Of the teachers' handbooks which every teacher kept updated with school and system information, he said: "It is just a myriad of material, my question is, how useful is it?" (Organizational Day Notes, August 29, 1991, p. 22). As for the mandated school improvement plan, Victor vetoed the mandate in Tim's first year and did the plan his way in Tim's second year.

Victor consciously filtered information entering the school from the wider context. An example was a major school system speech which had been given. I questioned Victor whether he would share the directives with the staff. He said he would share anything which had to do with teacher wellness because "Stress is a real problem at this school and teachers have a tendency to overwork. There is a fair amount of absenteeism at peak stress periods" (Conversation with Victor, August 29, 1991, p. 2). If the speech offered constructive suggestions to overcome the problem, he would share the speech. If it did not, he would ignore it.

Setting the Stage: The Story Behind the August 29 Organizational Day and the September 13 Professional Development Day

The expanded leadership team which consisted of the administrators and the two Resource Teachers went on a retreat over the summer where they focused on their beliefs and understandings about the school. At the summer institute, the concept of "regenerative work environments" (Cahoun, 1991) was introduced to school leaders as part of the school system's goals. Opening day discussions at schools would focus on regenerative environments.

When Victor arrived at Kirkpatrick to begin the school year, he found one of the members of the leadership team and two teachers had been called away for administrative interviews. He was displeased by the school system's lack of respect for what was going on in the school: the careful way the beginning days had been planned and his intent to bring the staff together as a "community" (Participant Observation Notes, August 29, 1991, p. 29). Victor did not blame the shortlisted people for their absences.

> For all we talk about cooperation and collaboration, it [the school system] is in fact a competition... It is each person for themselves. When the individuals came to talk about their absences, I said: "...You do what is best for you." (Participant Observation Notes, August 29, 1991, p. 30)

Consistent with his rebel image, Victor expressed his knowledge of the school system. His explanation further uncovered a school system story related to "the healthy school" story which Tim came to know. Victor named the stories of "getting ahead" and "leadership," stories Tim also came to know but not until after he reconstructed "the healthy school" story.

The Scene: The Healthy School Story, Year 2: The Staff Restories the Story

Setting the Stage: Organizational Day, August 29, 1991

On August 29, 1991, the Kirkpatrick staff held a group meeting to organize the school year. They made key decisions about the "healthy school." The staff discussions set the tone for their Professional Development Day two weeks later. In these opening days, there were many situations which pointed to Tim shaping and being shaped in his professional knowledge context.

In Tim's first year of teaching, another teacher, Leonard, encouraged Tim to become involved in the Teachers' Association (Interview 7, July 3, 1991, p. 39-40). Leonard's proposition interested Tim. When Tim acted on Leonard's suggestion and became the representative, he contributed to the shaping of his school staff. Tim was at the same time shaped by Leonard's suggestion.

Tim also contributed to the shaping of the school rules at the meeting. One school rule was discussed at length: the "No Gum, No Candy" rule. Initially there were many teachers on staff who agreed the rule should stand as in the past. When Victor opened the discussions, individuals brought their perspectives forward. There were people like Jonas who supported the "no candy" rule from an environmental perspective claiming candy wrappers were damaging the environment. There were others who supported the rule from a health perspective saying: "How can we teach nutrition in health yet allow candy to be eaten on the playground?" Marj disagreed with the rule because she felt students should make their own choices: "We want students who are decision-makers." She added she did not want to be monitoring candy and gum on the playground. Other staff members spoke about the kinds of snacks teachers were eating in the staff room and the number of staff members who chewed gum in the school and said: "Can we be expecting students to be doing something we are not role modelling ourselves?" Tim then entered the conversation. He asked a simple question: "How many people see gum and candy on the playground as a problem?" Dolores backed Tim up, adding: "Well, if you make it a rule, you have to enforce it." Jonas responded to Dolores: "It is easy to enforce, you just take it away." After much conversation, the "no gum no candy" rule, was "soundly defeated" (Organizational Day Notes, August 29, 1991, p. 16-17).

Tim made an important contribution to the discussion. Rather than focusing on solving the issue, Tim questioned whether "no gum, no candy" was a felt problem. His remarks prompted other staff members to pause, interrupt their debate and consider his question, a question embedded in his personal knowledge of playground supervision. In a conversation with me, Tim explained his knowledge this way: "I did not see it as a problem...I cannot understand it...It is interesting how people made it a problem...there was so much discussion and almost controversy...There were some pretty powerful comments being thrown around" (Organizational Day Notes, August 29, 1991, p. 24).

Tim noted the strong comments contributed by his fellow staff members. Their responses represented contrary knowledge. Jonas wanted the school rule and was willing to enforce it. Marj, whom Tim called "a quiet leader" was not in favour. Tim knew when Marj spoke "everyone sits up and listens" (Interview 14, May 23, 1992, p. 1). Tim may have felt safe to enter the discussion after Marj had disagreed. Dolores then quickly offered her comments in the heels of Tim's question. In Tim's **"Finding My Spot"** and **"Finding My Spot, My Niche"** stories, Dolores was the teacher who brought Tim on to the staff and shared with Tim aspects of, what Tim termed, the school "culture" (Interview 8, July 9, 1991, p. 11). Dolores had told Tim such things as not to drink coffee in the classroom and to leave a "dummy plan, a John Doe" lesson plan for substitute teachers in the office (Interview 9, July 26, 1991, p. 32). In this staff situation, Dolores voiced her opinion in a way which supported Tim. In his first year of teaching, Tim also considered Dolores "an informal leader." In the "no gum, no candy" rule discussion, Tim's comments sandwiched between the comments of two informal leaders in the school had a shaping effect on a school rule.

At the Organizational Day, a problem solving model called "the talking bears" was also discussed. Teachers new to the school were puzzled by the expression which appeared to be shared staff knowledge. As I observed Tim interacting with the staff, I realized he knew the significance of "the talking bears," a five step problem solving approach to student behaviour and school discipline (Organizational Day Notes, August 29, 1991, p. 17-18). Teachers who had been on staff for a number of years were in favour of the bears' continued use. Tim's friend Helga, who, like Tim, was new to the staff did not agree with a way the model was being used:

> I do not like the way some people talk about [the bears]. They talk as if the bears were doing the thinking: "How would the bears think this out?" Well, the bears do not think it out, we think about the bears, about the steps the bears do...we must reiterate that it is the children who do the thinking, not the bears. (Organizational Day Notes, August 29, 1991, p. 18)

When Helga questioned how the bears were being used with children, Dolores clarified: "Really, it is not the thinking bears. I mean we just use them as a symbol. It is really the Think Aloud program..." Dolores then suggested they all go back to the original Think Aloud program because you know, since we adopted this, our staff has changed substantially...Maybe we need to use our

Professional Development time to refresh what the thinking aloud program is (Organizational Day Notes, August 29, 1991, p. 18). In this staff conversation, Tim witnessed Helga's attempt to shape the knowledge long-term staff members shared. He also witnessed how Dolores was open to addressing the problem. No one, however, questioned whether "the thinking bears" should be a continued practice in the school. It seems "the thinking bears" had become part of the staff's unquestioned knowledge, a knowledge which had shaped Tim. In **Tammy's Story**, Tim approached a problem situation with Tammy using the "thinking bears" approach. Tim followed each step of the model as he worked with Tammy but he did not refer to the bears. Tim had been shaped by the use of the model in the school but also by Helga's caution in using it.

The Action: Professional Development Day, September 13, 1991

The Professional Development Day, September 13, 1991 began in a jovial manner. Victor attempted to give the day a serious start but several teachers interrupted him. I wrote about it this way: "The teachers were teasing Victor about losing staff members and people going to interviews and changing positions at the beginning of the year...Everyone had a good laugh and was quite relaxed" (Professional Development Day Notes, September 13, 1991, p. 2). After the laughter subsided, Victor formally presented the school mission statement: "to develop regenerative work environment which will ensure high quality student education and professional wellness." (**Realigning the Treadmill**; **Finding My Spot: Year 2**). Victor did not create spaces for the staff to contribute to the shaping of the school's mission statement. Victor delivered it to the teachers as received knowledge (Belenky, Clichy, Goldberger, & Tarule, 1986), knowledge which the leadership team had received and was now delivering to the staff. Tim's knowledge was shaped by this chainlike dissemination of language and directives in his professional knowledge context.

When Victor introduced the task for the Professional Development Day, he said the staff would be working on a "school action plan," rather than the popular term, school improvement plan. Victor wanted the activity to be associated with a lived, rather than a written story. Victor spoke of the staff "biting off more than could be chewed" and people "pushing themselves to the end of June." He emphasized the staff was doing too much. Victor then invited the staff to restory what Tim had come to know as "the healthy school" story. Victor suggested the staff work together "and learn to be realistic and...let some things go...We have to think about what we can reasonably accomplish and what we can cooperatively accomplish" (Professional Development Day Notes, September 13, 1991, p. 3).

Victor's description of the problem fit with Tim's knowledge of his first year teaching experiences. It also fit with what Tim called the need for "a conscious effort" to be made for reflection and wellness. Victor's statement focused on "we" and reminded me of his intent to build "community." His "we-ness" also resonated with Tim's knowledge: "It is time to talk about how we are doing." Victor's emphasis on cooperative accomplishments seemed different from the other teacher's story about the staff's past.

At the Professional Development Day, the staff interpreted actions they had been doing in the past, were doing in the present, and proposed to do in the future. The staff decided to keep the Sports Day, cut down on the number of assemblies, and eliminate the Christmas Concert (**Realigning the Treadmill**). I now will unpack how Tim and his school staff came to make these decisions.

The Sports Day was unquestionably accepted as an school activity whose importance went unchallenged. A teacher recommended the Committee be formed earlier in the year to overcome planning problems, a difficulty Tim noted earlier. She pointed to the previous year's Sports Day and how "the committee went nuts toward the end" (Professional Development Day, September 13, 1991, p. 5). The frantic time of which she spoke was the time when Tim found a space to contribute. With some staff members tired and others preoccupied with moving and other school activities, Tim had an opportunity to shape an activity. Tim was able to "emerge into a leadership role" as he worked with Jonas on the Sports Day preparations (Reflections on Interview 10, August 3, 1991, p. 1). This was an important part of Tim's **"Finding My Spot, My Niche"** story and a significant part of the development of the research story of Tim shaping and being shaped by his school staff. It is a narrative thread which will be picked up later.

The next activity the staff modified were assemblies (**Realigning the Treadmill**). A divergence of opinions about assemblies existed on Tim's staff: Bonnie was not in favour of monthly assemblies because they disturbed the rhythm (Clandinin & Connelly, 1986) of her classroom and Marj rejected assemblies because of their lack of authenticity. On the other hand, other teachers wished to preserve assemblies. They saw assemblies as places for the cultivation of student behaviour and school rules in the school. A music teacher supported assemblies because she saw them as opportunities for students to share what they had learned in class. In the midst of this spread of opinion, Marnie said she would reserve her opinion until the staff had settled on the reason why assemblies were held. Marnie did not feel comfortable with the beliefs underlying assembly practices which some of her colleagues were expressing. As Marnie attempted to uncover deeper meanings behind school assemblies, Tim entered the conversation with his comment: "We have such a quantity of events, maybe we could have assemblies every two months?" (**Realigning The Treadmill**). Tim's contribution to the conversation was another expression of his image of balance, an image he revealed in numerous telling stories such as **Tammy's Story** and **The Computer Room**. When Tim expressed his knowing and his image of balance with his school staff, he bridged differences of opinion which existed. Tim's solution was an easy point for Victor to enter the conversation. Victor agreed assemblies should continue but less frequently. The staff at Kirkpatrick was denied an opportunity to reflect on an educational practice. Even though Marnie had questioned the underlying beliefs behind assembly practices, the divergence of opinion on the staff was never unpacked. Victor, concerned that the staff was running out of time, used Tim's contribution to bring closure to the discussion. Tim inadvertently shaped this situation because Victor used Tim's balance comment to arrive at a decision. Time and possibly inclination deprived the staff of making "a conscious effort" to probe the beliefs underlying assembly practices.

The Christmas Concert was the activity the staff decided to eliminate. Jonas spoke about the relationship between staff tension and performances: "I had to be very, very careful what I said to colleagues during concert times" (Professional Development Day Notes, September 13, 1991, p. 8). Dolores was emphatic about the number of performances: "Not two performances per year; one." One music teacher, a seasoned staff member said: "But if we do not have concerts, we do not have a goal to look forward to" and the other, a beginning teacher offered: "In my limited experience, we prepare for concerts in music classes and at noon hours [not in school hours as you have been doing]." Lana, a teacher new to the school staff, supported two performances. Helga, on the other hand, wanted to change the image of the concert to something less "grand." "Why don't we refer to it as a musical event rather than a production or a concert?" imagined Marnie. Dolores commented: "Last year we had two absolutely outstanding performances and they had a lot to do with the ego enhancements of teachers" (Professional Day Notes, September 13, 1991, p. 8). In the end, the staff decided there would be one performance where all students would participate.

In Tim's first year story, **Significant Events in My First Year of Teaching,** Tim felt stress preparing for the Spring Concert, the other main performance in the school year. "Two weeks out of hell" was Tim's recollection of his experience.

Some staff members shared his opinion while others wished to continue with both performances. Dolores, for example, spoke of the Christmas Concert as the school's "gift to the community" (Professional Day Notes, September 13, 1991, p. 8). At Kirkpatrick School, the Christmas concert was a contentious issue. Having been a story with an unquestioned place in "the healthy school," its story was being rewritten by the staff.

In working at Kirkpatrick School, I came to know more about the Christmas concert and some of its background from conversations I had with Victor and with Bonnie. Victor referred to the Christmas concert as having a "sacred (no pun intended) existence" in the school. Victor traced the concert's history. When he first arrived at the school, there was a music specialist who prepared "grandiose performances" where "the performance seemed to take precedence over people...and the show went on" (Conversation with Victor, September 17, 1991, p. 2). Bonnie told me similar things in my conversation with her. "She talked about the Christmas concert and how she has been in the school for several years. Each time a production was made, there was a sense of one upmanship, making the performance bigger and better" (Conversation with Bonnie, September 24, 1991, p. 2). Victor said the music specialist transferred after his first year at the school. But the story of the Christmas concert was already rooted in the school. The community had come to expect the Christmas concert and teachers felt guilty rescinding a "gift." Victor next hired a new music specialist to the school who "inherited the sense of what the previous teacher had done...and the community expectations for a wonderful performance. [In this situation] the new music specialist felt pressured" (Conversation with Victor, September 17, 1991, p. 2).

Tim felt pressure when he worked with the new music specialist as she tried to live the old Christmas Concert story although Tim did not recognize it as such. In an indirect way, Tim was shaped by the Christmas concert story which had a privileged place in "the healthy school" story.

Victor attempted to change the Christmas Concert story. One way was through hiring a beginning teacher to the music specialist position in Tim's second year. Tim felt sorry that the beginning teacher was innocently entering into an established story in the school. He tried to warn her in a caring manner at a coffee break (Professional Development Day Notes, September 13, 1991, p. 8-9). Tim did not question the place of the Christmas Concert in the school story. He assumed it would continue in the same manner. Tim was not aware that Victor, in particular, was trying to rewrite the script.

The staff's discussions about Sports Day, assemblies, and the Christmas Concert foreshadowed their discussion of extracurricular events. As individual items were held open for inspection, multiple opinions were offered and time became increasingly limited.

Some staff members assumed clubs and sports activities had the same unquestionable status as the Sports Day and would continue as they had always done. Jonas and Tim, for example, referred to the planning and coordination of activities. Their proposed changes fine tuned the "healthy school" story. Other staff members, however, had accepted Victor's invitation to seriously review extracurricular practices. These teachers began to explore alternate ways to think about "the healthy school" story. Bonnie, for example, requested the staff shift their focus from the activities to the students; from "the healthy school" as an institution to the people in it. She passionately spoke of "burnt-out kids...inundated by activities" (**Realigning The Treadmill**). Her story did not fit with Tim's knowledge of the "doing things for others" story which he believed contributed to "the healthy school."

Dolores then asked a critical question: "How many things are we going to do?" Jonas mentioned the teachers' unvoiced fear: "We will hear from the parents." Some teachers then downplayed the tasks of organizing houseleagues. Dolores was nonplussed and reminded the staff that activities took lots of planning and lots of time. Jonas returned to his knowledge of "the healthy school" story. He again tried to focus the discussion on the organization of the activities. "Something has to go," negotiated Bonnie (**Realigning The Treadmill**).

Bonnie and I had a later conversation where she explained her position. She said she had previously worked with athletics and committees and was currently involved in committee work. Bonnie viewed the extracurricular orientation of the school as community work. "Bonnie said [extracurricular] practices take teachers away from their teaching practices. She said she would like to have time to talk with other teachers. She said she learned best from other teachers" (Conversation with Bonnie, September 24, 1991, p. 1-2). She began to resent her committee work. She explained her thoughts:

> On committees, I work with other teachers but our talk is always about the common thing which has brought us together, not about ourselves. I want to talk to other teachers about things which are important to me and to them, not...talk about community work which I feel takes me away from my primary job: My job is teaching children. (Conversation with Bonnie, September 24, 1991, p. 2)

Bonnie hoped I did not view her as selfish. The story of guilt was again named.

Tim and Bonnie had much in common in what they said about the activities in the school. Tim and Bonnie seemed to support one another in this staff discussion, but the story continued in a convoluted manner.

Shauna, the new resource teacher, entered the conversation and supported Bonnie's position. Tim also entered the conversation and tried to downplay the time commitment of clubs. Again Tim tried to smooth the situation, a further example of Tim expressing his image of balance. Shauna replied that the staff had to limit its activities. She knew about the stress associated with the "healthy school" story. She reminded everyone she had toured the school the previous year when they were worn out from overinvolvement. Victor had also shared with her the problems of teacher stress and absenteeism.

Fran, also new to the staff and not knowing the past story, disagreed with Shauna. Fran disagreed with having the staff make decisions for individuals. Bonnie then disagreed with Fran as she explained that activities did not happen "in isolation [like teaching]," hinting that school decisions should not be made by individuals. Bonnie reminded her colleagues that teaching was their primary responsibility. Again, she was suggesting an alternate way to live the "healthy school" story.

Teachers who had previously not voiced their opinions entered the conversation. They echoed the guilt story, the emotion which wells when teachers cannot meet demands placed upon them. As more female teachers, silent to this point, voiced their opinions, Bonnie reiterated that the staff needed to change the "healthy school" story.

Bonnie's suggestion again did not resonate with Jonas' knowledge. Tim later spoke of Jonas' position: "Jonas had been there with a...staff who were very active. Less activity did not fit with his experiences" (Interview 14, May 25, 1992, p. 1). Tim's explanation was similar to Victor's earlier comment about "the school's history of offering a lot of extracurricular things" (Conversation with Victor, September 17, 1991, p. 2).

Bonnie's suggestions were not fitting with Jonas' knowledge of the "healthy school" story. Jonas again mentioned the guilt story. He stated teachers were showing preference for their "wellness" at the expense of the "wellness" of the students (**Realigning The Treadmill**). The sense Jonas was making was not consistent with the "doing things for others" story Tim had come to know earlier. What Jonas was naming was teacher selfishness.

On the heels of Jonas' statement came a careful comment from Victor. Victor encouraged the staff to creatively consider "other things which could be traded off." Whereas Jonas had reminded the staff of the old school story, Victor said: "We've kept it to a school decision." (**Realigning The Treadmill**).

In this discussion, I anticipated Tim would situate himself with teachers whose knowledge seemed to be compatible with his summer sense making. I was surprised when Tim expressed displeasure with the staff's decision to have club activities one year and extracurricular events the next year. As I reflected on it, there were two ways I could make sense of Tim not agreeing with the decision. One way was looking at the staff decision as "an overreaction to the treadmill." Overreaction, to me, suggests overcorrection and was not consistent with Tim's image of balance. The staff had made a decision which had favoured teachers over students and Tim wanted the issue taken back to the staff for further deliberation. The second way I could make sense of Tim not agreeing with the decision had to do with a story Jonas was articulating, a story Tim caught a glimpse of when he was involved in Sports Day activities.

Let me explore the first way of making sense of Tim's decision to take the staff decision back to the staff. Before Tim made his appeal to the staff, he spoke with two prominent members of his school staff: Jonas and Marj. Jonas was a friend and had publicly expressed his discontent with how the staff was attempting to restory the "healthy school" story. Jonas agreed with Tim's concern and confirmed Tim's knowledge of the situation. Tim also took his concern to Marj who Tim considered "a wise owl" (Interview 14, May 25, p. 1), a teacher to whom the staff listened. I had a conversation with Marj and she explained why she agreed with Tim on this point. "She said she would agree to review the decision because some people on staff wanted to add particular activities, things they really wanted to do. She could understand their point of view" (Conversation with Marj, September 24, 1991, p. 3). Marj's reply was similar to her response to the "no gum, no candy" rule. Tim knew Marj favoured individuals making decisions for themselves. Like Jonas, Marj validated Tim's knowledge.

After consulting Jonas and Marj, Tim appealed to the staff to consider "the school and the students and how to best balance those needs with our personal well-being" (**Realigning the Treadmill**). Tim expressed his image of balance in his presentation to the staff. Tim asked his colleagues to remember there were athletic and nonathletic students in the school and sports events one year and club activities the next year would not meet the needs of the whole student population. When the staff reconsidered the decision, they agreed with Tim by a 14-10 margin. In this sense, Tim shaped the staff decision.

Viewed from a different perspective, however, Tim was expressing his knowledge of how the school story had shaped him. Rather than emphasizing how imposed time constraints had limited the staff's decision making, Tim reminded his colleagues of the students, the "doing things for others" story he had come to know. Unwittingly, Tim returned the staff to "the healthy school" story. In reminding the staff of the students, the "doing things for others" story, Tim brought the staff back to the "guilt" story. As Marj explained: "[The reassessment] made the guilt trip set in with the staff and soon people were saying, Well, if so and so is going to do this, then I should be doing something too. She said teachers' egos were involved" (Conversation with Marj, September 24, 1991, p. 4). Marj's explanation reminded me of the "one upmanship" of which Bonnie spoke and Dolores' reference to "the ego enhancement of teachers." Marj said she heard "snippets of conversations" and sensed the staff was heading toward "a repetition of the same kinds of activities as last year" (Conversation with Marj, September 24, 1991, p. 4). She expressed disappointment because:

> The stuff was community work. She said her number one responsibility was teaching...She said she felt teachers were responding to every whim in the community, things the community or other functions of society could handle...the view of education had become too large. (Conversation with Marj, September 24, 1991, p. 4)

Tim's appeal to the staff also confused Victor. It was contrary to the conversations Tim and he had about activities in Tim's first year of teaching. Victor wondered why Tim had become so focused on activities and committee work. "Victor said he was puzzled by Tim's involvement in the Teachers' Association and all the major responsibilities Tim seemed to be taking on in the school and how they were impacting on him" (Conversation with Victor, October 22, 1991, p. 1). It seems Victor was so close to the situation he could not see how powerfully "the healthy school" story had shaped Tim's knowledge. Victor did not see Tim giving back "the healthy school" story he had observed in other teachers' practices. Victor had earlier described beginning teachers as "clay which can be molded" (Conversation with Victor, June 6, 1991, p. 1). It seems "the healthy school" story had subtly "molded" Tim in his professional knowledge context.

Tim felt his appeal to the staff ended in "a nice compromise" (Participant Observation Notes, September 24, 1991, p. 1). He believed he had encouraged the staff to think of the students and he had been concerned about how certain staff members would receive his comments. He had wondered: "How could the staff be mad at me for standing up for the students?" (Tim's Response to **"On The Treadmill"/Significant Events in My First Year of Teaching** stories). At same time as Tim was thinking this thought, other teachers were voicing their opinions in the staff room: "I heard comments, some rumblings about returning to the same old activities, and the belief that there were too many activities going on in the school" (Participant Observation Notes, September 24, 1991, p. 1).

It appeared Tim was unaware of the sense other teachers were making of the "healthy school" story. He did not have spaces to enter into conversations with them nor they with him or each other. Tim continued to story his knowledge in "the healthy school" story. Through that lens, teachers not participating in activities were not fulfilling their responsibilities to the students and the school.

Tim did not see particular teachers intentionally removing themselves from "healthy school" activities to reclaim conversations about educational practice. Tim did not recognize the alternate school story he had entertained during the summer months. Tim saw himself involved in "more than [an] average" number of activities. He assessed Jonas' situation in the same way:

> I was not about to sit back and watch [Jonas] take on [more activities]. I think it is a lot. He already has Patrols and badminton. He also has his administrative duties plus he teaches Grades 4, 5, and 6. (Interview 12, December 11, 1991, p. 18)

Tim took on more activities to reduce the load Jonas was carrying. Tim contributed more to school activities in his second year of teaching than his first (Interview 14, May 25, 1992, p. 2). He was also unconsciously placing Jonas' "healthy school" activities ahead of his administrative and teaching practices. Tim was working extremely hard at keeping "the healthy school" story alive.

Before continuing this line of thinking, I wish to return for a time to consider another story, the one which Jonas was defending, the one Tim was beginning to know. Tim defined his place in the school by his positions and his activities (**"On the Treadmill", Finding My Spot/ "Finding My Spot, My Niche," Realigning the Treadmill, The Computer Room, Teachers' Association Activities/ Teachers' Association Involvement**). Towards the end of his first year, Tim was heavily involved in planning the Sports Day with Jonas. Tim associated Jonas' participation in extracurricular activities with his administrative role: "Jonas is into everything. He is administration, too. I think that [administration] has something to do with his willingness to be involved in a lot of things" (Interview 6, March 16, 1991, p. 15). Working with Jonas on Sports Day was the beginning of what Tim termed, his "growth into leadership." Tim sampled leadership when he organized the Sports Day and he wished to "continue the momentum" (**"Finding My Spot, My Niche"**). The leadership experience subtly shaped Tim's knowledge. I noted his references to leadership in his **Finding My Spot: Year 2** story:

> You felt the tasks you did outside the classroom offered you a way to be on "the leading edge" of the school. These positions offered you the leadership opportunities you wanted. Throughout the transcripts, you often mentioned "growth," "leadership roles," and "emerging into leadership" in our conversations. (Response to **Finding My Spot: Year 2**)

As leadership became part of Tim's knowledge, his knowledge of "the healthy schools" story shifted. Tim became more accommodating of the story:

> Looking back at all this now, Cheryl, I cannot believe that I made it through my first year! This theme has been a major one, connected with time and our seeming lack of it [and has] to do with all those things we feel will create a "healthy" school. Thinking back to the comment I was told about "dead schools," my response then would have been "Better dead schools than dead teachers!" Now, I am changing my perspective slightly. I think back to the beginning of

> this year when certain extracurricular activities were left out because the staff were overreacting to the "treadmill." It was I who advocated for nonathletic students and brought about a reassessment of what we really wanted to do. This was another very significant occurrence which contributed to my growth. (Response to **"On the Treadmill"/Significant Events in My First Year of Teaching**)

Tim recognized the shift in his "perspective" and his restorying of the "healthy school" story. He also viewed his contribution to the staff reassessment of school activities as part of his "growth." Previously when Tim used the word growth, he associated it with leadership: "growth into leadership" (Reflections on Interview 10, August 3, 1991, p. 2). Other responses Tim made also pointed to his shift in knowledge:

> I have indeed found a "place" on staff in several areas this year: the New Teacher Group, the Teachers' Association representative, Committee work on two committees: Professional Development and Extracurricular, and the Computer Co-ordinator [for the school]. I know this is a lot when you consider what the average teacher... does, or is willing to do. I am full of enthusiasm and I want to be on the "leading edge" in our school. (Response to **"Finding My Spot"/"Finding My Spot, My Niche"**)

Again, Tim's knowledge was expressed in leadership vocabulary. To be on "the leading edge," Tim organized committees and activities for "the healthy school."

These activities and positions put Tim on the "inside track" in the school (Interview 14, May 25, 1992, p. 2). Tim had come to know the "getting ahead" and "leadership" stories embedded in "the healthy school" story. Tim restoried his knowledge of "the healthy school" as associated stories of personal possibility enticed him.

About the same time as Tim was highly involved in Sports Day planning, he wrote his **"Listening to the Children"** teacher narrative. Tim shared his story with Helga and hoped she might journal with him or be on the same committee as him to address "the isolation we face as teachers" (Interview 8, July 9, 1991, p. 23).

> I shared my piece [my narratives] with Helga and I gave her a copy...to keep and to read. We talked about our frustrations...I suppose it has been more frustrations than positive things...If she were willing to share journals, like if she would keep one herself, I would love to respond to her and to have her respond to my writing. (Interview 8, July 9, 1991, p. 10)

Unfortunately, Tim's hopes to journal with Helga never materialized due to a lack of time. The second thing Tim did with his teacher story was put it in the staff room to share with other teachers. Tim and I had a conversation about what happened:

T: Dolores began to read it but wondered whether it was for her...

C: Did any of the other teachers read it...or did anybody talk to you about your story?

T: No, no. I removed it from the staff room at the end of the day. The story was in a pile with all the other papers which accumulate in the staff room...most of which does not get read.

C: Did you give a copy to Victor?
T: No.
C: How do you think he would have responded?
T: I do not know. I think he might have thought: "Yes, that is kind of neat or whatever..." (Interview 8, July 9, 1991, p. 11)

What Tim attempted to do was share his knowledge in a way which had been cultivated in his former professional knowledge context, the Alternative Program. When Tim shared his stories with his new school staff, they did not respond in a manner he expected. I got the sense Tim felt his knowledge was devalued as his carefully crafted stories became part of "a pile" which "does not get read." Tim and I discussed what happened:

T: I guess part of my idea behind putting the story on the coffee table was that somebody might read it and somebody might say "Well, this is really neat. What prompted you to write this?" and then say, "Well, would you like to write or would you like to share stories like this?"
C: Yes, or could we get together at noon...
T: Yes, but...
C: ...but that is not part of the school "culture" [Tim had used the word, culture, earlier in the conversation] at this time.
T: No. No it is not. I bet you that you would not find any of them who would journal...(Interview 8, July 9, 1991, p. 17)

This incident occurred about the same time as Tim was introduced to the getting ahead and leadership stories as he worked on Sports Day preparations. When Tim concurrently lived these two experiences, his restoried his knowledge of "the healthy school" story. The "reflection and wellness" landscape which he preferred over "trees" did not bear fruit. Tim embraced "the healthy school" story as his own.

Denouement: The "Healthy School" Story Continues

As I continued to work with Tim at Kirkpatrick School, I noted comments which related to the living of "the healthy school" story. On October 22, 1991, Tim spoke of having a "really rough day." He said the students were unsettled, he had chaired the extracurricular committee meeting, was responsible for the activities calendar, had a cold, and heard at a Teachers' Association meeting he attended that a strike was looming . "Things [were] not slowing down,...the pace [was] speeding up," concluded Tim (Participant Observation Notes, October 22, 1991, p. 6). In the staff room, I recorded similar comments:

> Helga is tired and ill and Dolores is absent today. Bonnie has been up all night... The custodian came into the staff room. Somebody said to him: "You are back." He replied: "I have to be because all the teachers are ill." (Participant Observation Notes, October 22, 1991, p. 6)

Another way Tim and the staff were continuing to live the "healthy school" story was through Professional Development activities. Bonnie chaired the committee and discussed a survey the staff had completed. Under the umbrella of "wellness," the staff selected stress management, conflict resolution, and self-esteem as their three favoured topics. These topics were connected to "the healthy school" story. Tim and other staff members were continuing to construct their knowledge from this story frame.

Professional Development activities also took place in the school every fourth week. This time was a remnant from the days when the school was highly involved in system projects. Program continuity, year-round schooling, sharing with other staff members, and family grouping were the topics the staff selected. Of the topics mentioned, the only topic which all teachers agreed upon was sharing with other staff members. Bonnie said some staff members only checked sharing with other teachers on their entire surveys.

Bonnie explained why the staff wanted to focus on program continuity and wellness from the school system's plan and from provincial mandates. Her explanation was:

> When people come up with these big words, it really stresses teachers out. It is really stressing us...Our staff gets really concerned...We feel we are having things imposed on us from above, but being professionals we feel we have to know this kind of stuff to present it to the public. It puts a lot of stress on us because these were not our ideas in the first place, they were just given to us. (Conversation with Bonnie, September 24, 1991, p. 3-4)

Bonnie's comments reminded me of Tim's summer reflections on meetings and how he felt reflections always revolved around topics outside of his personal experiences. Here Tim's professional development experiences were being shaped by activities the staff felt obligated to do. I considered the "treadmill" Tim was experiencing within the school and the "treadmill" he was experiencing from outside. Bonnie's explanation illustrated how the "healthy school" story was paradoxically "stressing" teachers like Tim. In promoting the health of the institution, the health of teachers was being overlooked. In response, teachers turned to topics of teacher stress, conflict resolution, and conflict management for professional development rather than conversations about their educational practices.

On November 1, 1991, a professional development day was held concerning teacher stress. The staff discussed system and provincial thrusts, particularly program continuity and wellness, and their connections to teacher stress. Of program continuity, Dolores said:

> This is just another way to get us "on the treadmill." Dolores talked about the passing fads introducedin the school system which quickly fade. She said... teachers had enough to do dealing with the dailiness of their work without assuming trends imposed from the outside. (Participant Observation Notes, November 1, 1991, p. 19)

Dolores connected the "treadmill" to activities originating outside the school. I also recorded a collective complaint about the wellness goal: "There was a lot of talk about wellness being a catch word but not much was being done in terms of concretely dealing with the stress of teaching" (Participant Observation Notes, November 1, 1991, p. 19). One group of teachers talked about stress created by "the combinations and personalities which come together on a school staff" and teachers feeling guilty, a story mentioned previously. Tim contributed his knowledge to the conversation: "Yes, teachers are very, very giving and we have a tendency to impose expectations on ourselves but society also has a way of putting expectations on teachers" (Professional Development Day Notes, November 1, 1991, p. 4-5). In articulating his knowledge, he situated the "healthy school" story in a larger context.

On November 8, 1991, Tim again made reference to his personal "treadmill." In a conversation, I noted that:

> Tim's mind went back to his [first year] teacher stories...Again he talked about the treadmill and all the kinds of things he is doing this year. Tim pointed to the extracurricular [activities] chart on the wall. Again, he talked about these activities that were about to happen in the school and all that was involved in planning and doing them. (Participant Observation Notes, November 8, 1991, p. 8)

On November 14, 1991, an unusual occurrence happened in the school. I wrote about a break in routine in "the healthy school" story:

> The bell rang and everybody came into the staff room looking very tentative. The teachers all looked at each other and said: "Have we forgotten a meeting today? There must be a meeting for us to go to." I laughed, too, and said to Tim: "Tim, do you know this is the first time in the two years I have worked with you that you have had a lunch break with no meetings?"...The staff is in a jovial mood. (Participant Observation Notes, November 14, 1991, p. 1)

December 11, 1991 Tim was back to "a treadmill kind of day." He described it this way:

T: It was a treadmill kind of day...I had to photocopy a few things, then volleyball right up to the bell, then in the classroom until noon. Then we had a meeting about [contract] negotiations...and I taught in the afternoon. We had a dance workshop right after school and I next had a Council of School representatives meeting, followed by a meeting downtown...I got home at 8:45 P.M. and then I had to plan...today's lessons...
C: Incredible!
T: Yes. Five things on top of teaching yesterday. (Participant Observation Notes, December 11, 1991, p. 4)

But Tim was not the only staff member overburdened with meetings. Tim told a story about a staff comment. He said: "The week has been full of meetings. Somebody wrote in the staff daybook: 'What is it with all these meetings?" Tim shared the important question but he did not unpack it.

This reminded me of a conversation Tim and I had earlier in the year when I gave him back his first year stories for response. I particularly asked Tim whether he had other stories like his **"Listening to the Children"** story. "No," he replied, "There has been nothing really since last year that I have actually stopped to think about...I guess I have been too busy." Tim was so busy living "the healthy school" story, "doing things for the children," he did not have time to reflect upon his relationships with the children. "Writing reflections at the end of the day would be one more thing to do," Tim mused. He added: "[Activities are] just the way it is in schools, folks" (Interview 14, May 25, 1992, p. 2). These comments reminded me of times Tim said he was too busy to chat with a staff member who had an illness in the family and too busy to chat with Helga anymore. "Healthy school" activities were interfering with Tim's interactions with people.

In late December, on the eve of the teachers' strike, a staff room conversation again turned to teacher wellness and how the "healthy school" was burning teachers out. I captured a comment Shauna offered:

> She talked about the rhetoric of wellness, the fact the school system keeps talking about wellness but when it comes down to it, the system is very system-centred. She said the kinds of things teachers were asking for affected teacher wellness which, in turn, influenced the lives of children. When teachers felt well, their relationships with children were better. (Participant Observation Notes, December 19, 1991, p. 9)

Shauna emphasized the inherent reciprocity in student-teacher relationships.

At the February Professional Development Day, the staff discussed program continuity. I wrote about topics Tim discussed with his colleagues. Tim's group focused on meetings:

> The group conversation turned to the topic of meaningful meetings and how a meaningful meeting is one you attend by choice, not because you are expected or mandated to be there. You bring something to a meaningful meeting and contribute to it.
> (Professional Development Day Notes, February 14, 1992, p. 6-7)

Tim questioned whether "everything had to be meetings." He thought people needed choice as to whether they would attend meetings and room to talk in them. Talk, to Tim, was "a stress releaser" (Professional Development Day Notes, February 14, 1992, p. 6-7). Tim was again exploring other ways "the healthy school" story could be lived.

As I worked with Tim, I realized the first year teacher in the school had constructed knowledge similar to Tim's. One of her comments at the November Professional Development Day stayed with me. As Mary Ann spoke, I thought her words could have been Tim's:

> You know, I have been thinking about this [problem]. Everyone here on staff has something unique, certain talents. But we are moving so very quickly that the only time we ever have time to catch each other is brief glimpses in the hallway. I am thinking about Tim in particular [our classrooms are separated by a folding screen]. We run by each other but we never get to discuss new ideas...I'd like to have a time to sit down and chat and learn about the rest of people on staff. (Professional Development Day Notes, November 1, 1991, p. 17-18)

As Mary Ann spoke of "brief glimpses" of Tim in the hall and he and she "run[ning] by each other," I reflected on "the healthy school" story and how it had shaped Tim's knowledge, her knowledge, the staff's knowledge. I also thought about how the story continued in spite of efforts to change it. I particularly recalled Tim's recent comment when he said he was "in a similar situation to last year, reliving old habits, so to speak" (Telephone Conversation, May 19, 1992, p. 1).

Awakening to the distant calls of new stories is difficult when an old school story is engrained. Yet, Tim heard the distant murmurs in his beginning years of teaching. He intermittently reflected on and embraced alternate stories of possibility, but these brief encounters were not enough. As a beginning teacher, Tim could not "in isolation" shape the school story, for the story was collectively shaped by and shaping the staff. He could not individually unpack and reshape the school story because it belonged in the staff's shared consciousness. Tim and his colleagues needed time to pause, find connected spaces and reflect on "how we are doing." Shared commitment was also needed to rewrite the "healthy school" story. Only through sustained conversations could fresh alternatives be explored.

Tim's story as a beginning teacher was inherently linked to the "healthy school" story cultivated in Tim's professional knowledge context. How Tim authored himself as a teacher was bounded by the jointly authored story which subtly shaped his personal practical knowledge.

Tim's Knowledge Communities

Tim's "healthy school" story is "marked" (Fish, 1980) as much by his search for knowledge communities as by the presence of them. Tim awakened to "the healthy school" in an encounter with a teacher who did not share his knowledge. Her response to his story was a cue that she and he were not interpreting the situation in the same manner. The teacher told Tim the story of "the way things are" (Lunch Conversation, August 29, 1991, p. 1) rather than joining him in a shared exploration of things as they could be. The knowledge which Tim and the teacher held for this situation arose from different knowledge communities. While Tim's expression of his knowledge was marked by how he had learned to interpret situations in the Alternative Program, her expression of her knowledge was marked by her rootedness in "the healthy school" story.

Tim then took his story to someone with whom he shared community, me. Tim linked his connection with me to his connection with Clandinin as we both had Clandinin as an instructor. When I returned Tim's first collection of stories to him, one of his first responses was: "I knew you would respond like that. I just knew it. You are one of Jean's students and Jean used to give me response like that. I just expected you to respond like that" (Reflections on Participant Observation Notes, October 15, 1991, p. 1). Tim saw me as an extension of a knowledge community he had previously shared with Clandinin in his practicum. Tim had met with Clandinin and six other students in groups which Tim called "support groups" (Interview 5, February 23, 1991, p. 29). He missed the kinds of topics he discussed and the associations he had with others in these meetings. Tim considered the discussions "a very special time," "a highlight" of the Alternative Program (Reflections on Interview 2, November 14, 1990, 3). He particularly mentioned "confidentiality" and the "stories" as important features of this previous knowledge community (Interview 5, February 23, 1991, p. 25-26; Interview 10, August 2, 1992, p. 9).

While Tim had previously found meaning for his experiences in his practicum group, he no longer felt the need to meet with his former classmates:

> And I haven't called people in practicum for a while. In some ways, it is consistent with my need to make a break with them, from the student teacher to "I am a teacher now" and trying to put that other stuff in the past. Not that it is bad, it is where I am coming from. It is a need to make it on my own and be self-reliant. I do not think I am consciously doing it, but I think if I had to think about it, maybe that is what I am doing. (Interview 5, February 23, 1991, p. 29)

Tim had shared time, place, and situation with a particular group of people in his practicum. As a beginning teacher in a different professional knowledge context, his commonalities with classmates had diminished. That knowledge community no longer served a purpose; it was no longer relevant to him in his emergence as a first year teacher. Tim desired a new knowledge community of first year teachers, who were "in [his] space so to speak" (Interview 10, August, 2, p. 8). He wanted a new community which could offer the same confidentiality as an old one (Interview 10, August 3, 1991, p. 8).

My relationship with Tim developed as a new shoot sprouting from an old knowledge community. We dwelled together in meaning because our work was collaborative and because the study focused on Tim's experience (Interview 8, July 9, 1991, p. 17). Tim offered me help with the research and I offered him my willingness to listen to and discuss his experiences and my professional knowledge constructed from being a teacher and consultant in the same school system. These features made our knowledge community relevant.

In his conversations with me, Tim expressed his initial response to "the healthy school" story and sought my response to his telling of the story. I encouraged Tim to return to his experiences and to his knowledge. My response gave Tim support. Tim voiced his dissatisfaction with the situation and storied how he would write the school story. Tim was able explore new possibilities in community with me as he had been able to do in small group in the Alternative practicum.

When Tim's staff began to discuss the activities of "the healthy school," Tim's knowledge communities in his professional knowledge context emerged. Tim agreed to be Teachers' Association Representative on the recommendation of Leonard who had previously shared professional knowledge with Tim. "[Leonard] said: Get into the Teachers' Association early and get to know people. He said: "That will be a gr-r-r-eat benefit (Interview 7, July 3, 1991, p. 40)." Tim took the position and continued to have conversations with Leonard about Association matters: conversations similar to ones Tim also had with Victor. Tim and Victor's relationship also developed around Teachers' Association conversations. Tim said he was "spending more time with [Victor]...He [Victor] is happy I am doing Teachers' Association stuff" (Interview 12, December 11, 1991, p. 43). Some of Tim's knowledge communities embedded in his professional knowledge context had Teachers' Association issues as a core text. These knowledge communities had secondary characteristics as well; they were composed of male educators.

Tim's father was an additional person, not explicitly named in the story, with whom Tim discussed Teachers' Association issues. Since Tim had become a teacher, he had noted his relationship with his father has changed:

T: My dad has really treated me differently since I started teaching.
C: Oh, has he? In what ways?
T: Well, our relationship has changed over the years and he is treating me more as an equal...I think we are communicating more...well, there is more commonality there now, too and I think that makes a whole lot of difference...I think my dad feels a sense of pride now that I am finally into a career. I do not have to go and wash dishes anymore. (Interview 8, July 9, 1991, p. 7-9)

Common interests like Teachers' Association business brought father and son together in conversation and changed the text in their relationship as they became a knowledge community. Tim also saw in his father the embodied knowledge of a principal (Interview 6, March 6, 1991, p. 4).

When Tim first joined the staff, he did not feel safe to express his knowledge in conversations.

T: I don't know if I would talk to somebody on staff right at this point. I know we have little conversations about how much work and [the need for] experience and how tough things are but I would like to keep that to a minimum with these people just because I'm still trying to figure things out...(Interview 1, October 27, 1990, p. 4-5)

Tim took his stories of experience to his stepmother, Mona, a teacher:

T: My number one person to talk with in regard to teaching is Mona. She and I are very close...We have been for a number of years. I would go to her first if there was a big problem...[Conversations] do not always have to be about school...they can be about family, things going on outside of school...just knowing someone is there and understands what [I] am going through. (Interview 1, October 27, 1990, p. 4-5; 9)

Tim and Mona's relationship was built on "a lot of storytelling"; they "shared stories" on an ongoing basis (Interview 3, January 31, 1991, p. 23). Mona was Tim's second family professional knowledge community.

In the "no gum, no candy" rule discussion in "the healthy school" story, Dolores supported Tim's interpretation and it became clear she was part of Tim's knowledge communities. Dolores reached out to Tim and listened to his stories.

T: ...one teacher, Dolores, asked how things were going one day and I told her the truth...I think the way the conversation started was she mentioned something that I did not know that was a standard practice around the school. She said: "Nobody told you about this?"...It was like her talking to me and she was very helpful.

C: She was an important person on the staff in terms of making you feel accepted?

T: Yes. I think I would talk to her. I would feel safe talking to her. (Interview 1, October 27, 1990, p. 10)

Dolores shared her knowledge with Tim by answering his questions and offering him concrete help. Dolores told Tim about long-range planning and about keeping a "dummy plan, a John Doe plan" in the office for substitute teachers. Dolores also told Tim about other "unwritten kinds of things" (Interview 2, November 14, 1991, p. 20) pertaining to what Tim called the school "culture" (Interview 8, July 9, 1991, p. 11). Dolores created spaces for Tim to ask questions and Tim knew his questions and his version of truth were safe with her. Tim understood Dolores "helped [him] to get into and start to understand some of the culture" (Interview 8, July 9, 1991, p. 11).

While Dolores was an important knowledge community in his first year of teaching, she did not continue to be one in his second year. The stories and questions Tim shared with Dolores diminished as he gained familiarity with the professional knowledge context and the people in it. Tim mentioned that other teachers found Dolores "less positive in particular situations" and may have felt a need "to pull away" (Interview 8, July 8, 1991, p. 11) from that community to gain entry into other knowledge communities. The change in Tim's relationship with Dolores illustrates how knowledge communities shift. It also shows how a dislocation of one knowledge community may become the building blocks of others.

When the staff discussed "the talking bears" at the Organizational Day, Tim made the bear problem solving model part of his knowledge and expressed it in his practical actions. Tim particularly paid attention to Helga's response to the model. He also was mindful of Helga when she teased him about not becoming a principal or superintendent (**Social Action**). It became clear Helga was one of Tim's knowledge communities. In December, I asked Tim with whom he had deep conversations. He responded: "Serious things, I talk to Helga" (Interview 12, December 11, p. 41). Tim and Helga had professional and life texts in common. They were both newcomers to the staff and were two of the youngest staff members. Tim and Helga's place in life also brought them together: Helga was married, without children and Tim was engaged to be married. Helga was able to bring Tim and Tanya, another young married teacher, together in conversation and their community expanded to include Tanya: "Tanya, Helga, and I have conversations about life...I feel comfortable talking to Tanya" (Interview 12, December 1, 1991, p. 42).

Tim's relationship with Helga shows how the personal and the professional can intersect in knowledge communities. Helga's response in Tim's **Social Action** story demonstrates how professional knowledge can be personally shared in a blunt, but caring manner in community.

Tim's connection to Tanya emerged from his relationship with Helga just as my connection to Tim emerged from his relationship with Jean. Tim and Tanya's mutual acquaintance provided them with a sense of comfort and they were able to bring each other into their knowledge communities.

Tim was upset when the staff decided to offer club activities one year and sports activities alternate years. Tim was knowledgeable about how decisions were made in the school and how he could take his stories to certain people. Tim acted on his knowledge and took his story of discontent to two different people: Jonas, an administrator, and Marj, "a quiet leader" for different readings of the situation.

Jonas was one of Tim's knowledge communities. The planning and living of sports activities was the common thread which drew Tim and Jonas together in shared practice and conversation. In his work with Jonas, Tim forged connections between participation in activities and leadership (Interview 6, March 16, 1991, p. 15). Tim also saw in Jonas the embodied knowledge of an administrator.

Tim also experienced how educators highly involved in activities were promoted to leadership positions in his first year of teaching. As well, Tim was surrounded by numerous male educators involved in or aspiring to leadership positions. Male role models and the promotion of educators involved in activities, coupled with Tim's knowledge of a link between activities and leadership, played a significant part in shaping Tim's unfolding story as an educator. Tim's "emergence into leadership" and his restorying of himself as a principal in ten years (**Social Action**) threads back to how he negotiated meaning in his knowledge communities.

Tim also took his story about reduced school activities to Marj. Marj was not one of Tim's knowledge communities. Tim admired Marj at a distance and wished he could be like her. Tim described Marj as the type of person who has "a real effect on people":

> ...and when she does say something, we go: Yes! Right! And [I] sit and watch Victor and [I] look at the other people [and] the way they are reacting and [I] take [my] time to sit back and look [at her effect] on the staff. (Interview 10, August 2, 1991, p. 3)

Tim knew Marj would agree with him on the point about individual teachers making decisions for themselves.

Taking his story to Marj served two purposes for Tim, both of which relate to the notion of knowledge communities. First, the conversation offered a common thread from which Tim and Marj could build a knowledge community. Second, Tim knew the kind of influence Marj had in the professional knowledge context and if he could persuade her, he could access her multiple knowledge communities. On the other hand, Tim knew if Marj did not agree with him, there was little sense in presenting the matter to the staff.

Prior to taking the decision back to the staff for reappraisal, Tim's multiple knowledge communities conflicted and created contradictions in his knowledge. Tim set his teacher narratives in the staff room for public reading in the hope of building new knowledge communities and of shaping an existing knowledge community with Helga. The teacher narratives were an expression of his knowledge cultivated in a former knowledge community lodged in the Alternate Program. Helga, one of Tim's knowledge communities, did not fully respond to him and Dolores, another of his first year knowledge communities, did not know how to respond. At the same time, Tim was seeking membership in a new knowledge community, one where connections between activities and leadership were valued. Tim took his story about school activities back to the staff and solidified his membership in the new community. At the same time, Tim left his Alternative Program knowledge community. His shift in knowledge communities is particularly evident when he declared: "Writing reflections at the end of the day would be one more thing to do" while simultaneously describing activities in the school as "That's just the way things are in schools, folks" (Interview 14, May 25, 1992, p. 1).

Towards the end of the school year, Tim mentioned he was so involved in activities he no longer had time to speak with a number of people, two of whom were Helga and Mona. I inquired whether Tim was speaking to new people and he said "No one in particular" (Interview 14, May 25, 1992, p. 2). Tim's knowledge communities were suffering because he lacked time to nurture them. Yet, Helga and Mona were two of the few people with whom Tim storied his personal and professional life (Interview 5, February 23, 1991, p. 30). As Tim's second year of teaching concluded, his knowledge communities had shifted leaving fewer spaces for 'the personal' in his sustained conversations with others. Tim had developed more knowledge communities but the knowledge communities where he connected his personal and public knowing were suffering.

In this section, I have unpacked Tim's "healthy school" story and illuminated the notion of knowledge communities. I have illustrated how Tim attempted to build community, how he met with communities which clashed with his knowledge, and how he left particular knowledge communities. Tim's "healthy school" story shows how Tim belonged to multiple knowledge communities embedded in his professional knowledge context.

Benita

Benita's "Good Teacher" Story

Background

As with Tim, Benita's personal practical knowledge shaped and was shaped by her experiences in her professional knowledge contexts. The people with whom she interacted formed a part of her knowledge context.

This "good teacher" story is a story told to Benita and one she often told about her experiences in various schools. It is crafted from narrative threads woven through many of Benita's "telling stories." The "Good Teacher" story centres on four of Benita's images: "real" teaching, the safe day, ownership, and "the good teacher" and features the tensions Benita felt which prohibited her from fully expressing these images in her practices. The story also shows how these images were storied and restoried as Benita negotiated meaning with people in her professional knowledge contexts.

Scene 1: The Good Teacher: Benita Learns The Children's Stories

"The good teacher" story threads through many of Benita's "telling stories": sometimes explicitly named, other times implicitly there.

One story where "the good teacher" was explicitly named was **Children's Stories of "The Good Teacher"**. Children in three situations in two different schools shared their beliefs about "the good teacher" with Benita. When the students responded to Benita, they assessed her worth as a teacher. The children appeared to hold their experiences of her practice against a standard they had constructed for good teaching. These conversations formed the backdrop for this research story. The students' responses awakened Benita to the notion of "the good teacher." Benita continued to have conversations with her situations and herself, conversations where she likened her substitute teaching experiences to a "a string of beads...with nothing tying them together." Benita also continued to have conversations about "the good teacher" with Annie and me.

In one instance, Benita became involved in another substitute teacher's teaching by requesting students to be quiet. The students responded immediately. The incident caused Benita to wonder why they responded to her but not to the other substitute teacher. She also considered why her intervention was successful on this occasion but had not been earlier (**"Extremely Tough" Day/Half Day in Hell**) .

Benita wondered what made this experience different from her experiences at less familiar schools. She decided "a common story" made it easier for her to be "the good teacher" with the Riverview students. Benita knew these students had a "different respect" for her and that the Riverview teachers treated her "as staff" (Interview 2, October 29, 1991, p. 4-5). Benita's sense of being at home formed the interpretive context which allowed her to be "the good teacher." The experience stood in striking contrast to other experiences where Benita had no "common story" with students. Benita had not shared time, space, place, or situations with the Tree Ridge students and felt "like a failure" with them **(Substitute Teaching As A "String of Beads"; "Extremely Tough" Day; Response**

To "Extremely Tough" Day). But at Riverview, she felt like "the good teacher." Riverview was the professional knowledge context which had shaped her knowing of "the good teacher" and where she knew how to be "the good teacher" (**Riverview School as "Home"**). Benita realized particular contexts permitted her to be "the good teacher" and came to know she was "the good teacher" in particular situations.

A second group of students at Riverview described Benita as a good teacher and compared her story to their storied knowledge of other teachers. They told Benita she did not rush them, did not give them homework, and worked in an open-ended manner. She wondered what else the students could tell her about her teaching. Their responses also shaped Benita's knowledge of "the good teacher" when she realized a good teacher learns good teaching practices from her students.

In the third situation, Benita had a conversation with two Grade 1 boys in Mountain Ridge school. One boy who Benita had previously taught told his friend he would be okay with Benita because she was a "good teacher." Once again Benita's knowledge of "the good teacher" was affirmed by students. The boys' responses prompted Benita to consciously consider children's notions of "the good teacher." Benita began to wonder how these constructions formed and how students "know" good teachers.

In **Stories of "The Good Teacher" Continued**, Benita was again called "a good teacher" by students, this time by students with learning and/or behaviour problems. Benita had been particularly mindful of each individual's situation and each of the students responded positively to her. Benita developed a relationship with these students as a sense of "the good" was exchanged between them. Benita spoke of her "attachments" to students and linked good teaching to being in relation with and responsive to students. Goodness flowed in these situation as Benita and the students connected with one another. Benita expressed a sense of morality in these situations where she was called "the good teacher."

The experiences explicitly featured in her "good teacher" stories shaped Benita's knowledge of "good teaching" and she made this knowledge visible in her portfolio entries: "I am constantly learning from the children. I think that children teach us and that is how we become good teachers. We do so by listening carefully and by being empathetic..." (First Draft of Portfolio, June 5, 1992, p. 5).

Scene 2: The "Real" Teacher, The Safe Day, Ownership: Benita's Expressions of Her Personal Images in Practice

Early in our work, Benita expressed an image of teaching as personal relationships with students. The image developed in her practicum year when she first read The Velveteen Rabbit. She was like the beloved rabbit who became real as she developed loving relationships with students and became "real"; a "real teacher." Pat Hogan, Benita's university teacher, had assured Benita of her authenticity: "You are real, Benita...I have been wanting to tell you that for a long time" (Interview 11, March 3, 1992, p. 12). Pat also responded in Benita's practicum Journal: "Keep this word in your heart as a guiding principle for teaching. You are a real teacher when you make things real for children" (practicum Journal Response, January 9, 1990, p. 79).

Benita's experience of reading The Velveteen Rabbit accompanied by Pat's reassuring comments stuck with Benita and a teaching image began to develop. The image of being "real," of being in relationship with students, echoed back at Benita in her substitute teaching situations. "Real" became a word Benita frequently used to describe teaching and herself as "the good teacher."

Directly linked to Benita's knowledge of "the good teacher" was her sense of "real" teaching (Interview 12, March 20, 1992), her image of teaching as personal relationships with students. Supervising students and "safe days" did not fit with Benita's story of "the good teacher." Neither did "feeling like a substitute, one who was not doing the 'real' thing." (**Substitute Teaching As A "String of Beads"**) Benita felt her substituting experiences did not connect to her image of "real" teaching. She felt cut off from students as a substitute teacher in much the same way as she felt cut off "from the real world" as a fourth year education student following her practicum experience (Post-Interview Conversation, October 23, 1991, p. 1). Benita did not enjoy substituting situations because they created particular tensions in her knowledge. These tensions stemmed from situations which were "superficial, not real"; situations where Benita felt she was also "superficial, not real" (**Substitute Teaching As A "String of Beads"**).

Benita found it hard to be "real" and the kind of "good teacher" she wished to be when all she had was "little flashes" of teaching (Interview 1, October 23, 1991, p. 26). To Benita, supervising students in classrooms was like "watching T.V. all day." She missed the "action and interaction" of "real" teaching (Response to **The Safe Day Revisited**, Comments in the Margins) and craved **"Ownership"** experiences, experiences which enabled her to express more of herself and her knowledge in situations. Benita wanted to contribute to the shaping of situations. She did not like her teaching story being shaped by others. She did not like the **Safe Day** experience, which seemed to be a common story of substitute teachers told in her **Substitute Teaching as a "String of Beads"** and **On the Outskirts** stories.

Benita recognized a fundamental dissonance between her "safe day" and "real" teaching images in her substitute teaching situations. Benita was able to ease some of the tension she felt by restorying her "safe day" image:

> B: I've learned safe days are not just for me, but for kids. [They] maintain continuity for the kids, the school.... [I've learned] how much kids rely on continuity.
>
> C: Safe days are not much of a challenge for you though...
>
> B: No. Mind you, it [a safe day] does not challenge the kids either. It is not supposed to. But it is there; it is constant. They [the teachers] are trying to keep the continuity there as much as possible and I think that is really important. (Interview 6, January 3, 1992, p. 8)

Benita reconstructed her knowledge of the safe day in two ways. One way was her ongoing journal conversations with Annie Davies and me which helped Benita sort out her safe day experiences. I asked clarifying questions and Annie contributed to Benita's language of practice by give "the safe day" name to Benita's experiences: "I think that teachers will often set up a SAFE DAY for the sub[stitute] and the kids...and in doing that you [Benita] feel more like a supervisor..." (Annie's Response to Benita's Entry, September 30, 1991, p. 2). Having a frame from which to hang her experiences, Benita was able to make distinctions among her experiences and restory her image of "the safe day." A second thing which contributed to Benita's reconstruction were two experiences where Benita worked with young students who were confused by their teachers' absences. Benita wrote about one of these incidents in her portfolio: "I learned an important lesson from the children that day. I learned that children like routine and when it changes abruptly, the children become upset and confused. They become restless... Children need to have consistency in the classroom..." (First Draft of Portfolio, June 5, 1992, p. 8). After these experiences, Benita considered safety from multiple perspectives. Benita's restorying of her "safe day" image was shaped by part of her professional knowledge context. In turn, Benita's knowledge of "the good teacher" stretched to include the good of everyone in the situation, as opposed to a singular focus on "the good" of the teacher.

Benita had recurring doubts about whether it would be possible for her to experience **"Ownership"** in a substitute teaching position. She found it difficult to imagine herself as "the good teacher" as a substitute teacher. Her "real" teaching image collided with what was expected of her in the contexts where she worked. Supervising kids (Journal Entry, September 30, 1991, p. 12), feeling like a referee (Journal Entry, October 8, 1991, p. 16), supervising book exchanges (Journal Entry, November 2, 1991, p. 26), and "jutting in and out of many classrooms" (Interview 3, November 10, 1991) were not Benita's notion of "good teaching."

Benita regretted "one shot days...not doing anything that [was her] own" (Interview 3, November 10, 1991, p. 11). Benita strongly felt ownership was a prerequisite for her to be the good teacher. "I need ownership...I don't think I can get it from a substitute teaching position. It is like getting a snapshot, a frame from a movie, but I am never there for the whole movie" (Interview 3, November 10, 1991, p. 4).

Benita nevertheless was able to develop a sense of **"Ownership"** in particular situations which allowed for the expression of this image. Benita expressed her "ownership" image in situations where she was left more "in charge": a teacher unexpectedly absent, a teacher absent for an extended period of time, and a misplaced lesson plan (**"Ownership," Eight Consecutive Days of Ownership/ Teaching Consecutive Days; "Unexpected Ownership"**). Less structured days created space for Benita to "write [her] own story" as "the good teacher." She did such things as prepare a unit of study, write lesson plans, and introduce preferred activities like journal writing and story theatre to the students' routines. Benita savoured these opportunities to author her own teaching story.

When Benita expressed her "ownership" image in her practical actions, there were two things Benita particularly found in her situations: a sense of voice and a sense of agency. When Benita felt she had voice in her professional knowledge contexts, she was able to express her ownership image in her situations. But voice was the horn of an ongoing dilemma for Benita on her educational journey:

> ...[as a student] in a classroom situation, I am very timid...I have no voice. In practicum, I had a voice, but when I went back [to university for my fourth year] I went back to the old way...no voice. (Interview 3, November 10, 1991, p. 29)

When Benita became a substitute teacher, she learned "substitute teaching [with the exception of working at Riverview] was [also] not a great place [for voice]..." (Interview 6, January 3, 1992, p. 28). This tension built in her substitute teaching situations because she knew she needed voice to learn:

B: ...learning occurs through dialogue. Talking creates learning...
C: You seem to appreciate talk...
B: I appreciate talk. I learn in that situation. You are talking and you are thinking out loud and something happens...contributing to conversations makes you think more...That's the way I look at [the relationship between talking and learning]. (Interview 3, November 10, 1991, p. 23)

Benita also expressed her ownership image in situations where she could express her sense of agency. Benita felt a sense of agency when she was the "creator, director" in her practical situations; she needed to feel "in charge" to express her "ownership" image. Benita associated being "in charge" with being "focused [on]... where I was going and what I was doing" (**Images of Team Teaching/Team Teaching**). Both voice and agency were essential for Benita to express her image of ownership. Without the expression of her ownership image, Benita knew she was unable to be a "real teacher," a good teacher.

Benita was also able to express her ownership image in situations where she had personal relationships with the teachers for whom she was substituting. Certain teachers trusted Benita and left "sketchy" lesson plans similar to the ones

Annie intentionally left for her (**Eight Consecutive Days of Ownership/Teaching Consecutive Days**; **"Unexpected Ownership"**). These situations enabled Benita "to pull on [her] own resources" (**Images of Team Teaching/Team Teaching**). Because she knew the teachers and their styles and the teachers knew her and her style, Benita was able to provide the continuity for the students by becoming "the continuum" between the students and their absent teachers (**"Ownership"**). In these circumstances, Benita was able to express ownership in her practices and be "the good teacher."

Benita's relationship with Tracy particularly illustrates how Benita expresses her images in action. Benita expresses continuity and connection in her relationship with Tracy; an expression of her "real" teaching image. Also evident in Benita's work with Tracy is Benita's sense of voice and agency, two qualities necessary for Benita's full expression of her ownership image.

On one occasion, Benita telephoned Tracy about the behaviour of two boys. Tracy was grateful for Benita's communication and said her observations would add to the ongoing discussions about the boys. On another occasion, Benita had "a tough day" in Tracy's classroom and again telephoned Tracy (Interview 7, January 3, 1992, p. 23). Tracy responded: "This [was] a regular day in my classroom...don't stress yourself out." The response "reassured" Benita "[she] was okay..." (Interview 7, January 3, 1992, p. 23). Benita commented: "...having a dialogue with the teacher gives [me]...more of story and [the sense that what happened was] okay" (Interview 7, January 3, 1992, p. 23).

Tracy and Benita's dialogue resonated with Benita's images of "real" teaching and "ownership" and helped Benita understand she could be "the good teacher" and still have "tough" days. Benita and Tracy shared their difficulties and collaboratively worked for "the good" of the students in the classroom. As Benita worked with Tracy, she both shaped and was shaped by her experiences as she learned how hard she had to work as a good teacher for the good of the children.

Riverview School as "Home" was the context where Benita came to know herself as a good teacher; Benita became a "real teacher" at Riverview. The staff connected with Benita and her knowledge just as she connected with them and their knowledge. She explained it this way: "The staff at Riverview are very open. They are free with their knowledge. They do not feel threatened by any means" (Interview 3, November 10, 1991, p. 12). Benita felt "free" to ask her questions, free to engage in conversations about educational practice, and free to pursue personal professional development (Response to **Riverview School As "Home"**). She did not experience this fullness to her freedom in any of her other professional knowledge contexts. Frequently, she felt like "a figurine coming in and being there," a figurine suggesting a nonperson having no voice or agency---two qualities Benita needed to find in situations to express her "ownership" image (Interview 1, October 23, 1991, p. 18).

Benita experienced tensions in situations where she felt restricted from expressing her images of teaching. The freedom Benita experienced at Riverview enlarged her horizons of knowing while her experiences in other situations often stifled these expressions. Benita wanted her other substitute teaching experiences to be more like her Riverview experiences.

In Eight Consecutive Days of Ownership/Teaching Consecutive Days, Benita again was in a situation where she could be "the good teacher." Her innovativeness, a quality Benita associated with Pat's, Annie's, my, and her constructions of herself as a good teacher, showed in the science unit she prepared. Benita was able to tune into individual students and develop "an awareness of what they could do." Benita again restoried her knowledge of good teaching. She discarded temporary, piecemeal solutions to behaviour problems in favour of "harmonious living" in the classroom. Because she was placed in one classroom for eight days, Benita was in a less transitory context. She was able to "get underneath some of those layers [of teaching]" pushing past the technical, managerial side of teaching to practices which were more congruent with her image of "good teaching" (Interview 9, January 20, 1992, p. 18).

In Benita's response to the story, she spoke about having "control," feeling "empowered," and being "real" in this situation. She experienced feelings of agency, empowerment, and authenticity in this situation at Riverview: "All the things which [were] important to [her] as a teacher..." (Response to **Eight Consecutive Days of Ownership**).

Benita was not alone in contributing to the realness of this Riverview situation; students were there as well. Benita described her experiences with the students as a "real" classroom situation, not a contrived "**Safe Day.**" Benita overcame the limitations of a potential "safe day" experience and entertained a "safe day" as Annie had constructed it; Benita was able "to set foot on the mountain" (Annie's Response to **The Safe Day Revisited**). Benita felt "alive...active...in charge...playing out [her] story in the classroom" (p. 12). Benita was in a situation where she could fully express her images of teaching in her practices, a knowledge she connected to her sustained conversations with Annie.

In Benita's **Safe Day Revisited** story, Benita also restoried her knowledge of "the good teacher." Benita described an **"Ownership"** experience as one where she would "have ownership of what I am doing...[I would have] interactions, genuine conversations, planning, and figuring out...a start and a finish to things" Interview 11, March 3, 1992, p. 36). Benita had previously associated many of these qualities with her expression of her "good teaching" image in her practices. Two points, however, are particularly illuminating. In this excerpt, Benita spoke of "genuine conversations" as an activity in which "the good teacher" engages. Benita longed for conversations where she related to others as persons, the kind of conversations she had talked about with Annie and me: conversations where she and others could be "genuine." As "the good teacher," Benita would be a "real person" communicating with other "real" people. This insight fit with Benita's image of "real" teaching.

The second notable thing was Benita's desire to find "a start and a finish to things." In Benita's first collection of stories, she learned **The Importance of Beginnings**. As a substitute teacher, Benita rarely experienced closure. Benita's experiences were "little flashes" (Interview 1, October 23, 1991, p. 26), "snapshots" (Interview 3, November 10, 1991, p. 4), "a single frame" (Interview 3, November 10, 1991, p. 4). The substitute teaching situation described in **Substitute Teaching as a "String of Beads"** prohibited her from experiencing "the whole movie" (Interview 3, November 10, 1991, p. 4) This renewed knowledge of her situations returned Benita to her chronic concern about whether it was possible for her to be "the good teacher" as a substitute. "It all goes back to ownership...In actual fact, I have to have that ownership. I need to be there, to be there everyday. I just can't pop in and out" (Interview 3, November 10, 1991, p. 4).

Scene 3: Benita Expresses Her Good Teaching Image as She Prepares For Job Interviews

In December when Benita was scheduled for a job interview, she asked if we could do a practice interview. I agreed. My experience on hiring committees was my frame for interview questions. Benita expressed her image of "the good teacher" in her responses:

C: Here is a question which is often asked in interviews...What qualities do you see in yourself which make you a good teacher?
B: ...I'm an ongoing learner and a good listener. I am empathetic and innovative. I enjoy challenges...
C: Tell me more...
B: Innovative...I am always looking for new ways to do things. I am also reflective...That is very important...I think about how I am going to do something, I put it into action, and then I reevaluate it...I think about the variables, I listen to the kids, I question what does this mean, what does that mean...(Interview 5, December 9, 1991, p. 8)

In describing herself as "the good teacher," Benita highlighted the importance of listening and responding to the students, an expression of her "real" teaching image.

She went on: "I think about the issues of teaching. I think about how I have grown as a teacher. These points are part of me being an ongoing learner" (Interview 5, December 9, 1991, p. 18). For a second time, Benita associated teacher growth with being "the good teacher." Her response resonated with earlier comments she had made about herself, particularly in October, when Benita handed me her third and fourth year Education journals to read. I was already holding her first year teaching journal in my hand and our conversation went this way:

> C: Benita, can you see changes in yourself from one journal to another?
> B: I really would not want to think about it as change...what I would call it is growth. (Reflections on Interview 2, October 29, 1991, p. 1)

Growth was an important part of Benita's knowing of herself as "the good teacher."

Benita also described how she would handle discipline in a classroom in our mock interview:

> B: [Discipline?] It is a collaborative effort. Discipline comes in understanding a child...the best way to understand what is going on is to talk with the child, have a dialogue and communicate with a child. But for me to blatantly discipline [a child] would be wrong...It is important for me to listen to his story because everyone has their own story. [Discipline] is very situational, very individual...(Interview 5, December 9, 1991, p. 21)

She again associated listening to and working with children with "good teaching" and expressed this knowledge in potential classroom discipline situations. Benita also discussed her morality as "a good teacher" arbitrating classroom rules with students. Benita's approach to classroom discipline again fit with her image of teaching as personal relationships with students as she expressed her version of "the good teacher" as one who is sensitive to the unique qualities of individuals and the context-specific nature of classroom management.

The things Benita highlighted in our December interview were similar to the things she wrote in the May draft of a portfolio she constructed for employment purposes. In the portfolio, Benita had extended her knowledge of reflective practices to include such things as reflecting on curriculum:

> I see myself as a reflective practitioner. I am a person who wonders and questions. I think about daily happenings in my classroom: what is going on with my students, how I am making sense of being a teacher, and how I am figuring out the curriculum. (First Draft of the Portfolio, p. 4, June 5, 1992)

She had also restoried her knowledge of teacher growth in her portfolio and specifically mentions journal writing as a way of capturing her growth as a teacher:

> I write in a journal to get my thoughts out and to reflect on my classroom practice. I write in a journal because it allows me to go back in time and read what I have written to see if I have come up with new insights and answers to my questions. [My journal] is a

> place where I can see how I have grown professionally. (First Draft of Portfolio, June 5, 1991, p. 5)

As Benita continued to link personal professional development with being "the good teacher," it was apparent she was not satisfied with being a good teacher at the present time; she wished to grow to be a better teacher.

This scene shows how Benita portrayed herself as "the good teacher" in a simulated interview situation in December and in her draft teaching portfolio in May. It shows continuity and growth in Benita's knowledge of herself as "the good teacher."

Scene 4: The Good Teacher: Benita Learns a Student Teacher's Story

A student teacher with whom Benita worked also called her "a good teacher" when Benita encouraged her to respond to lived situations with her students rather than to lesson plans. Benita gave the student teacher response in two ways: by answering her questions and by writing in her log book. In responding to a question about rapport with students and grouping students, Benita said: "Let the students know you are a person, too" and "Listen to the children's reasons." Benita's responses were further expressions of her image of "real" teaching and of the "the good teacher."

Benita explicitly named how her teaching practices had been shaped in her experiences with Annie Davies. She was an "Annie clone"; she said she probed the student teacher's thinking just as Annie had probed her thinking. Benita also wrote in the student teacher's log book along the margins as Annie had done for her. Benita tried to help the student teacher get beyond "the superficiality...to deeper meanings," (Interview 13, April 21, 1992, p. 1) as Annie had worked with her (p. 16). Benita became aware of how powerfully Annie had shaped her knowledge as a teacher and how her knowledge was being expressed in her relationships with others, particularly this student teacher.

The student teacher "gave [Benita] back the notion of the good teacher" (Interview 12, March 20, 1992, p. 5-7). Because Benita had shared "her knowledge and experience," the student teacher considered her "a good teacher." In this situation, Benita realized she had learned about her personal development as a teacher: "I found myself living the role of the experienced teacher; the one who has knowledge and experience" (Interview 12, March 20, 1992, p. 7). Benita considered this self-knowledge "reassuring." Benita was also reminded of reciprocity and mutuality in relationships, this time "on a different level"; with a student teacher, rather than students. She also reflected on "the good teacher" as one who shares professional knowledge with colleagues and learns from her interactions with them. Benita commented: "I think both Lorraine and I learned from our two days together."

Benita's response to **"The Good Teacher"** story further illuminated her knowledge of "the good teacher." Other people's responses to her work, she said, "cause[d] [her] to question what [she] does in [her] practice." Benita's personal inquiry was driven by "what [was] beneficial for [her] and those with whom [she was] in contact." Benita's interactions with other people prompted her to consider the "good" in a situation and the best interests of all individuals. Benita connected with each individual by listening to them and "figur[ing] out what is important to them." "Maybe that is what makes me "the good teacher?" she reflected.

Scene 5: Benita's Conflict Between Her "Real" Image and Another Teacher's Expression of "Good Teaching"

In Benita's **Images of Team Teaching/Team Teaching** stories, Benita bumped up against a teacher whose image of team teaching conflicted her image as she had expressed it in practicum. Benita had known teaming as "collaborating...having open, honest relationships with one another...bouncing ideas off one another...listening to each other" (Journal Entry, April 2, 1992, p. 98). Benita did not like team teaching as she was living it with this teacher. She did not like how the work was divided up, how the remaining partner "controlled" her, how silence permeated the classroom, how she found herself being loud, and how the red pen shut down students' writing. Benita realized she was experiencing a way of teaching which did not fit with her expression of her image of "real" teaching. Benita knew her way of teaching was incompatible with the other teacher's approach and she felt a marked tension in the situation. Benita questioned whether she could express her notion of "the good teacher" working with this team partner.

At the same time, however, Benita knew this teacher was acknowledged as "a good teacher" in the school system (Interview 13, April 21, 1992, p. 9). In this situation, Benita confronted the notion of conflicting images of "the good teacher" and realized her "construct[ion]" of "the good teacher" was notably different from others (Response to **Stories of The Good Teacher, Continued**).

Unexpectedly, this teacher also became ill and Benita was left working with a substitute teacher. Benita's experience changed dramatically with the change in teaching partner. Instead of the situation shaping, even "controlling" Benita's knowledge in practice, Benita was able to shape the situation and express her images of teaching. She and the other substitute teacher were able to "collaborate" and the tension she had experienced subsided (**Images of Team Teaching/Team Teaching**). Benita regained her sense of voice and agency and the placement paradoxically turned into an **"Ownership"** experience.

Scene 6: Benita Understands Situations as Political Ones

Benita realized as her "good teacher" image found expression, there were multiple tensions between her stories of "the good teacher" and her lack of success with job applications. She often stated: "I just wish the school system could see the qualities the children see in me" (Journal Entry, April 10, 1992; Interview 13, April 21, 1992, p. 8). She sensed her image of "the good teacher" did not fit with the institution's demands. If she was "the good teacher," she said, she would be "real teaching," not substitute teaching. She began to doubt her abilities as a teacher:

> Sometimes I feel sad and depressed because I hear a lot of good stuff about my work from children and fellow teachers. But it

> makes me wonder why I don't have a full-time job. I wonder if I am missing something? (Journal Entry, January 11, 1992, p. 72)

Benita's felt tensions arose from her experiences with the multiple constructions of who "the good teacher" might be: the constructions of the people on her "support team": Pat, Annie, and myself, the students, the student teacher, the principal who evaluated her, and the people on interview committees (**Job Uncertainty; Children's Stories of "The Good Teacher," Stories of The Good Teacher, Continued; Eight Consecutive Days of Ownership/Teaching Consecutive Days**). Benita was particularly puzzled by the lack of congruence between the "build up" in her practicum experiences and "the product [a job]" not materializing (Interview 6, December 19, 1992, p. 3). Benita felt she had been recognized as "the good teacher" in the professional knowledge context of the Alternative Program but was not being recognized in the broader context of the school system. While Benita received positive feedback from individual teachers and schools, this knowing was not available to hiring committees. When she went for interviews, Benita's feedback was that she did a "good job" but no constructive comments were offered. She was unable to grasp a sense of "the good teacher" the school system was looking for. She again felt she could "only guess at the picture...[they] constructed of [her] as a teacher" (Response to **Stories of The Good Teacher, Continued**).

Even though she listened carefully to the "positive" stories people were giving back to her about "the good teacher," she sensed her knowledge of other people's constructions of her as "the good teacher" were at best a partial telling (Interview 6, December 19, 1991, p. 3). As Benita faced **Job Uncertainty**, her inability to "get to the door [of the school system] ...disappointed" her. It became a dilemma Benita lived daily:

> It is a big thing. Like everyday, I go home and say to my boyfriend: "I don't have a job." He says: "Don't worry, you will have a job." I say: "When I am 92?" [And he says:] "No, maybe by 30." (Notes from Interview 16, June 12, 1992, p. 3)

Benita particularly voiced her frustrations after an unsuccessful job interview.

B: It is like you wind yourself up, you prepare yourself for an interview, you anticipate [you will be a teacher]...
C: You start to build the story of your life around a job interview?
B: Yes, and then it is...like a drop; you just drop...Like what is the magic you can reveal that they [an interview committee] want to hear in twenty minutes? (Interview 6, December 19, 1992, p. 3)

Benita repeatedly puzzled over the constructions of "the good teacher" hiring committees might hold. She wanted to figure out their stories of the good teacher so she could give them back in the next round of interviews. Benita reasoned that would be a way to get a job.

Benita also looked to the experiences of her peers. She came to the disturbing realization that each of them, with the exception of one who had already left the profession, had jobs (Interview 15, June 4, 1992, p. 31). This realization fuelled Benita's uncertainties about herself as the good teacher: "[I] lose faith in [myself]. People have advocated for me saying I am a good teacher but maybe other people are seeing something different...Can they see deeper in my soul and see I am not a good teacher?" (Interview 17 Notes, June 25, 1992, p. 6).

Benita also thought about what she could learn from the circumstances of her peers' hiring situations. It seemed to her many of them had been in places where they had been noticed: males in elementary schools, giving prominent presentations, being in particular schools, and so on. Benita thought about how she would "market" herself as "the good teacher." She learned "the good teacher" should be "in a place and noticed" (Benita's Response to **Job Uncertainty**).

Benita also came to an uncomfortable understanding about how "the good teacher" gets hired. She noted: "It is not what you know; it is who you know!" "The good teacher" could be assured work as much by networking as by an ability to do the job (**Job Uncertainty**).

Benita prepared for another round of job applications by constructing a portfolio. Annie responded to her portfolio this way:

> So it is like [you] can be talking about teaching in whatever way [you] want but if the person [you are] doing it for is not receptive to the format [it is not going to get [you] a job]...You have to be crystal clear so you are not misinterpreted. I mean I know this man you are taking [your portfolio to] and I do not know that he would know the kind of language you are trying to talk to him with. (Interview 15, June 4, 1992, p. 1)

Annie said Benita's portfolio would be "beautifully received" by her former professors but questioned whether the material would be understood by hiring committees. She wondered if it would "suit her audience" (Telephone Conversation with Benita, June 3, 1992; Telephone Conversation with Annie, June 5, 1992).

Annie's response was the crux of Benita's dilemma. Annie expressed the tension Benita was feeling between her image of "the good teacher" and constructions of "the good teacher" which hiring committees might have. Benita's image of "the good teacher" had been cultivated during her practicum experiences and would be understood by those who cultivated it. Benita had constructed a portfolio which suited a former audience but not a present audience. It would not fit just as Benita's letter to a principal where she wrote "I am busy trying to figure out the teaching profession and my story as a teacher" (Notes from Telephone Conversation, November 1, 1991, p. 1) did not fit with the certainty expected of beginning teachers. Annie told Benita to cut "the philosophizing and tell me what you have done" (Interview 15, June 4, 1992, p. 4). Annie's response was the same as what a school principal had told Benita's practicum class. Benita remembered the principal saying: "No philosophizing; just get down to the essentials!" (Interview 2, October 29, 1991, p. 15)

Annie and I talked with Benita about the school system perspective. Annie told Benita she did not need to market herself as "the good teacher" as much as she needed to figure out what was relevant to the school system. Annie also tried to illustrate how educators intentionally give different expressions of their images of teaching and themselves as "good teachers" for hiring and promotion purposes. She likened the process to a "game" (Interview 15, June 4, 1992, p. 4).

Benita's reply showed her lack of knowledge about the broader professional knowledge context of the school system: "I'm frustrated...I don't know what the game is. I'm just trying to get in!" (Interview 15, June 4, 1992, p. 2)

Job Uncertainty was a frustration which had been building in Benita for over a year. Benita's physical exhaustion from working five back-to back days in two different jobs, coupled with her frustration of not knowing where she would be working the following year, prompted her to say: "I'm driving myself crazy...I need some security" (Interview 15, June 4, 1992, p. 32). She explained: "I just do not want to be subbing next year...I've reached the point of frustration...I am very tired" (Interview 15, June 4, 1992, p. 20).

In a caring manner, Annie reminded Benita of Benita's story, the story of "never having anything easy." We knew she had lived a story marked by obstacles, a lack of security, and her determination to overcome obstacles. Benita lived her life so that it would be different from the lives of some of her family members. Benita had carefully authored her "better life" (Interview 3, November 10, 1991, p. 31). Having now to be a substitute, one who is not real after having carefully shaped herself to be a "real" teacher, was deeply troubling to her.

Annie and I tried to give Benita back her story a second time, this time highlighting our knowledge of how Benita had overcome difficulties. We stressed our belief that she would mount this hurdle as well. Benita joked back at us: "It is about time...I deserve something easy!" (Interview 15, June 4, 1992, p. 31).

Annie felt our conversations with Benita helped her to prepare for job interviews "in a more informed way" (Annie's Response, June 6, 1992, p. 2). She felt Benita's knowledge would be informed by the context of the school system and by her image of "the good teacher." What Annie and I had tried to do was share the "game" with Benita.

Benita seemed puzzled by our responses and by the change in our language. Benita soon came to understand that Annie and I were informing her of other constructions of "the good teacher" so Benita could "get through the door." Benita learned she would have to give different expressions of her image of "good teaching" in hiring situations before she would ever have opportunities to shape learning situations for children in schools.

Scene 7: Denouement

"The good teacher" story threads through many of Benita's telling stories. It centres on a number of images Benita held and attempted to express in her practice. It shows how Benita experienced particular tensions when aspects of her substitute teaching situations thwarted her attempts to be the good teacher. Benita found she could not freely express herself as a substitute teacher nor could she gain entry to regular teaching positions where the expression of her teaching images would be less constrained by situation. In the end, Benita felt substitute teaching denied her opportunities to learn and to grow as a good teacher: "I do not want to do another year of subbing...I have done it...I have grown from it...I have grown as much as I can as a substitute...I cannot do anything more" (Interview 17 Notes, June 25, 1992, p. 6).

Benita's Knowledge Communities

Benita's good teacher story illustrates her interactions with people in her multiple professional knowledge contexts. Through picking out aspects of her story, I will show how she storied and restoried her teaching images in her knowledge communities. Because Benita's experiences were like "a string of beads," I frame her knowledge communities by scenes and by people "to tie" them together.

Students emerge in Scene 1 as part of Benita's knowledge communities. Benita first uncovered the notion of "the good teacher" in her work with children in **Children's Stories of "The Good Teacher."** Two of three narrative threads which contributed to Benita's story were students who directly responded to Benita's teaching. In the third narrative thread, students offer Benita nonverbal response. Each of these situations speaks to the embodied nature of knowledge shared in community. Benita expresses her image of good teaching through a number of practical actions. The students' responses are not directed to her practical actions but to "the good teacher" they see embodied in Benita. In the third situation the Riverview students respond to Benita's request.

In Benita's **Riverview School as "Home"**, Benita tells how "a quick nod or eye get[s] [students at Riverview] to work" (Journal Entry, September 27, 1991, p.

1). Benita realizes she shares "a common story" with the students; a story which includes a mutual understanding of discipline. The students' nonverbal responses illustrate their membership in the same knowledge community. The Tree Ridge students, on the other hand, did not respond to Benita and were not one of Benita's knowledge communities. She had not shared time, space, place, or situations with them. Benita did not have a story for the Tree Ridge students and they did not have a story for her.

In Scene 2, when Benita develops **"Ownership,"** she again has students as one of her knowledge communities. In **Eight Days of Ownership**, students respond to Benita's embodied knowledge of good teaching and the situation becomes one where Benita experiences "all of those things important to [her] as a teacher" (Response to **Eight Days of Ownership**). Benita specifically mentions how she was able to connect with individual students and their capabilities. Working together, Benita and the students were also able to agree on what constitutes "harmonious living" in the classroom. Through mutual response, Benita and the students found a meeting place where they negotiated texts to live by.

In Scene 2, Benita also has Pat Hogan, a former university teacher, as a knowledge community. Benita develops her image of "real teaching" in the Alternative Program with Pat. When Benita makes connections between herself and the Velveteen Rabbit, Pat responds to Benita as a teacher and as a human being. She helps Benita come to know herself as "the good teacher" and affirms Benita's knowledge of herself as a "real" teacher. Pat and Benita connect personal and public meaning in their conversation. Pat continues to support Benita by requesting her as a substitute teacher.

Tracy was also part of Benita's Scene 2 knowledge communities. Tracy was one of Annie's former teaching partners. Again we see how knowledge communities develop through mutual association. Reciprocal response was central to their relationship. Benita offered Tracy response regarding two behaviour problems in her class and Tracy offered Benita response to her "tough day." Tracy's response is particularly interesting in that she notes her current situation is not like situations they had known at Riverview. Tracy tells Benita that this experience would be unusual at Riverview but "regular" at her new school. Tracy connects the meaning of Benita's experiences to the contexts. She situates Benita's stories within larger school stories which they both have lived. She relieves Benita's anxiety. Tracy and Benita have shared purpose as they collaborate in their knowledge community to enlarge the possibilities for the students who are in their mutual care.

In Scene 2, Benita also has members of the Riverview staff as part of her knowledge communities. Benita spent approximately 3 1/2 days per week substituting at the school. Benita knew she was the school's "loved" substitute teacher (Response to **"I'm Going To Teach"**). She had voice and was able to voice her opinions at Riverview (Interview 6, January 3, 1992, p. 28). Benita felt "free in going and talking with other staff or administration about...things," safe to share her stories with particular staff members at Riverview (**Riverview School As**

"Home" and Response). Benita knew she could ask her questions in her Riverview knowledge communities. "If I have a problem I can go and say 'What is going on?' I would not stretch myself at other schools" (Interview 6, January 3, 1992, p. 22). Benita's questions were welcomed and expected; they did not threaten the staff (Interview 3, November 10, 1991, p. 12). Because Benita had multiple knowledge communities lodged in Riverview School, she was able to feel a sense of agency, empowerment, and authenticity and express her images of teaching at the school (Response to **Eight Days of Ownership**). Her knowledge communities formed an important part of the professional knowledge context where she was able to "stretch" her horizons of knowing.

In Scene 2 (and prominent throughout Benita's "good teacher" story) is Annie Davies, another part of Benita's knowledge communities. During practicum, Benita and Annie set out "to be the best we could be" in a relationship built on "equality" (Conversation with Benita, July 22, 1992, p. 2). At the end of the practicum experience, Annie invited Benita to continue their relationship: "We'll not be doing good-bye because you don't do beginnings and I don't do endings...so let's live in the middle ground of connection. It's where the energy is" (Davies in Clandinin, Davies, Hogan, Kennard, 1992, p. 311). The connectedness of which Annie speaks undergirds their knowledge community and gives them energy to pursue personal professional development. Annie and Benita's shared commitments to self-renewal ensure the relevancy and the longevity of their community. Benita also forms new knowledge communities as a result of her work with Annie. Many teachers like Tracy came to know Benita through Annie.

In Scene 2, we particularly see how new knowledge is created through storying and restorying in community. Annie offers Benita a way in which to make sense of her **"Safe Day"** experiences and a language with which to express them. Through sustained written and oral conversations with Annie and me, Benita's knowledge develops to include the good of everyone in **"Safe Day"** situations. This scene exemplifies the growth which can take place in knowledge communities.

Like Annie, I am one of Benita's constant knowledge communities. Scene 3 features Benita and me in our knowledge community. Benita is anxious about a forthcoming job interview. She trusts me with her insecurities and we do a practice interview as she requests. While I offer Benita response in the practice interview, Benita offers me response after the "real" interview. She states the questions I ask are far more difficult than those asked by the hiring committee (Telephone Conversation, December 16, 1992, p. 2). Benita's and my knowledge community is built on honesty and mutuality. We both focus on making sense of Benita's beginning teacher experiences and complement each other's knowledge.

In Scene 4, Benita and a student teacher also form a knowledge community. Benita becomes part of the student teacher's knowledge community by responding to her journal and her questions and the student teacher becomes part of Benita's knowledge communities by responding to Benita as "the good teacher." Again, the embodied nature of knowledge is evident as Benita embodies "the good teacher" image in her practices and the student teacher names the image Benita is expressing in her practical actions.

Benita and the student teacher discuss several commonalities which brought them together: both of them had gone to the same university, student taught at the same school, and shared an interest in the job market. Both of them were committed to making sense of their teaching practices. These intersections in their life stories became entry points for them to be each other's knowledge communities.

In sharing her knowledge with the student teacher, Benita finds she refined her knowledge of herself. The knowledge exchange between Benita and the student teacher increases both their confidences and their knowledge.

Benita's work with the student teacher also causes Benita to reflect upon her relationship with Annie and to think about how Annie has shaped her knowledge. When Benita asks the same "probing questions" and writes in the log book's margins as Annie had done, Benita marks a new knowledge community in a manner similar to an established knowledge community. Benita has learned the markings of a knowledge community from Annie and transfers this knowledge to a new knowledge community with the student teacher. Benita similarly marks her knowledge community with me by responding to the "telling stories" in the margins.

In the scenes prior to Scene 5 and 6, Benita shares with Annie and me how difficult it is for her to be a "real" teacher as a substitute. She repeatedly voices her desire for "**Ownership**" experiences. In her knowledge community with us, Benita's desire for ownership experiences is directly linked to her desire to have students as her knowledge communities. When Benita experiences "quick flashes" of teaching, she and the students are denied opportunities to be "real" with each other. Neither Benita nor the students are able to penetrate the "layers" to become each other's knowledge communities.

Scenes 5 and 6 in Benita's "good teacher" story also highlight Benita, Annie and me as a knowledge community. In our Scene 5 conversations, Benita stories how she encounters a teacher whose image of team teaching conflicts with her own (**Team Teaching/Images of Team Teaching**). The scene shows the co-construction of meaning in knowledge communities. In our sustained conversation, Benita comes to know someone who is not part of her knowledge communities. Two aspects of the situation, other than the difference of opinion, point to why the teacher is not part of her knowledge communities. The teacher tries to "control" Benita and denies her of her voice and her sense of agency. Without voice and agency underpinning a "collaborative" relationship, Benita was unable to dwell in meaning with the teacher (Response to **Images of Team Teaching/Team Teaching**).

The teacher displays other marks which confirm she does not share membership in the same knowledge community as Benita. The red pen the teacher uses to check student work and the way work is divided between the teachers are the physical signs of marked tension between their knowledge communities.

In Scene 6, Benita, Annie and I continue our collaborative conversations where Benita further unpacks her knowledge. Benita discusses the multiple responses she has received from multiple knowledge communities in her professional knowledge contexts. People in close contact with Benita have contributed to her images of teaching which she storied and restoried in "the good teacher" story. In the midst of the response and affirmation she receives from her knowledge communities, Benita notes a dissonance: she has not been hired as a regular teacher by the school board. Benita shares her doubts about herself with Annie and myself. She also discusses the conflicts in her knowledge as the personal and public meet in the story exchanges. She tells how she fears she will never be a teacher and how her boyfriend gives her back the story with a timeline attached to it. Benita offers the same story to Annie and me and Annie gives it back as a continuing story of Benita's life, followed by our retelling where we emphasize Benita's ability to overcome difficult situations. In our knowledge community, Annie and I share "the game," a text quite unlike previous texts we had shared with Benita. The change in our language and our perspective shows how multiple texts can be exchanged in community depending on what is in the best interest of the person storying a difficulty.

Annie retrospectively talks about how she wore the "army boots" in our discussion with Benita while I was the "nurturing" person (Reflections on Interview 11, June 4, 1992, p. 1). I will unpack Annie's comment because it tells about the dynamics of knowledge communities. Let me begin with some background. Benita and Annie had been in close association for three years, mutually responding to each other's written and oral wonders about their teaching practices as well as team teaching together. Annie could say the hard things to Benita and Benita would know Annie was acting out of sense of care (Noddings, 1984) for her. Annie could say "I love you dearly and I know you but...cut the philosophizing" (Interview 15, June 4, 1992, p. 4).

When Annie broached the difficult topic with Benita, I found myself in an interesting, but not uncomfortable position. I found myself complementing both of them: Annie in discussing the politics of the school system and Benita in creating spaces for her to ask questions and express her knowledge. This conversation highlights how meaning is negotiated when controversial topics are discussed. It also shows the interpersonal dynamics of community and how knowledge communities can deal with controversy in ways which do not alienate members.

Benita's "good teacher" story shows how Benita built multiple knowledge communities and recognized potential conflicts between knowledge communities. It also highlights the important part Benita's knowledge communities played in helping Benita story and restory her narratives of experience. The story particularly emphasizes the tensions Benita felt in her substitute teaching situations which made it difficult for her to express her images of teaching. Aspects of Benita's substitute teaching situations frequently aborted her attempts to enact her images of teaching and dwell in a community of meaning with her students. As well, the superficial, not "real," aspects of Benita's substitute teaching story were contrary to how she was trying to live " a better life," a family story to which she had awakened. Benita came to understand the intersections between her personal and professional texts as she made sense of her experiences in community with Annie and me.

Summary of Knowledge Communities

Both Tim and Benita have multiple knowledge communities lodged in their professional knowledge contexts. Each of them also have people in the larger context of education with whom they share their stories of experience. I am also a part of Tim's and Benita's knowledge communities. Like the other people in their knowledge communities, I affect their personal practical knowledge just as they affect mine.

Prominent among Tim's and Benita's multiple knowledge communities were individual students and groups of students. Benita's awakening to her "good teacher" story arose from conversations with students. Tim's **Children's Stories** narrative also emerged from conversations with students. Tim connected with the students, reflectively wrote about them, and figured things out about himself and his situation.

Tim's and Benita's knowledge communities were brought together by an "originating event" (Schein, 1985). For example, Tim's relationship with Helga emerged out of their being new to the school, being young staff members, and at a similar point in their life stories while Tim's relationship with Jonas emerged from a shared interest in sports and activities. Annie was part of Benita's knowledge communities because they became connected during the Alternative Program and had sustained a relationship since then. Benita's link with Tracy and members of the Riverview staff stemmed from her relationship with Annie and her connection with the student teacher was a shared story of being students at the same university, student teachers at the same school, and a mutual interest in job prospects. In each case, there were "commonplaces of everyday human experience" (Lane, 1988, p. 188) around which their knowledge communities were built.

Once formed, Tim and Benita needed to continue to find experiential commonplaces within their knowledge communities to maintain their associations. In Tim's stories, we see how his knowledge community with his fellow students in practicum dissolved when they no longer had student teaching in common and how his knowledge community with Dolores dissolved when they no longer had school "culture" to figure out. Tim's community with Helga also waned in his second year from a lack of time to maintain the commonplaces.

Knowledge communities also grow. We see how most of the people in Benita's knowledge communities had connections to Annie: Tracy, Annie's former teaching partner and former student teacher and the Riverview teachers, Annie's colleagues. We also see how Tim forged a new knowledge community with his father when Tim became a teacher and how his knowledge community with Jonas grew from sharing sports texts to sharing leadership texts as well. Tim's knowledge community with Helga also expanded to include Tanya.

In addition to growing, knowledge communities also shift. We see Tim's departure from a practicum knowledge community and from his community with Dolores. Tim no longer had a common text to share. Lack of experiential commonplaces underpinned the shifts which took place in Tim's knowledge communities.

People who were members of the same knowledge communities shared narrative text. Thinking about life as stories was a big part of Benita's knowledge of the world and she marked out her world in a narrative manner. This is particularly evident in the text she shared with Annie and me and how she presented herself in her portfolio. Her personal practical knowledge had been shaped in her knowledge communities in the Alternative Program. Tim also spoke in stories when he talked with me and this also showed the shaping effect of the Alternative Program experience. Tim, however, realized his staff did not relate to that text and searched for other texts he could share.

In both Tim's and Benita's stories, the knowledge which was storied and restoried in their knowledge communities was embodied knowledge. In Benita's story, we particularly see the embodied nature of knowledge in her interactions with the students and the student teacher. The embodied nature of knowledge is also evident in Tim's teacher narrative and in how he interprets comments made by Jonas and his father as embodied knowledge expressions of administrators.

Tim and Benita discussed different topics in different knowledge communities. The kinds of topics Benita pursued with particular students in her knowledge communities were different from the kinds of topics she pursued with Annie and me. Tim took his positive stories about school activities to Jonas and expressed his concerns about school activities with me. Tim and Benita shared different aspects of their knowledge in different knowledge communities. They matched their stories of experience with those knowledge communities most likely to give response.

Since Tim and Benita were both new to their professional knowledge contexts, they were both trying to build knowledge communities in their professional knowledge contexts. Hence, in reaching out to others, they both encountered people whose knowledge communities were different from their own. Tim came to know this about the teacher who told him the "healthy school" story and Benita came to know this about the teacher in her **Team Teaching/Images of Team Teaching** story. In these situations, both Tim and Benita recognized that different tellings existed. In the process of making sense of knowledge which conflicted with their own, they refined their knowledge of themselves.

Personal practical knowledge largely separated Tim's and Benita's interpretations from the interpretations of the particular teachers in their stories.

For Benita, conflicting images of teaching underpinned the differences in knowledge communities between the teacher and herself (**Team Teaching/Images of Team Teaching**). For Tim, the fundamental difference of opinion in "the healthy school" story arose from different readings of personal experiences.

Sustained conversations in their knowledge communities enabled Tim and Benita to push past the doing of teaching to uncover fundamental images of teaching. The collections of telling stories particularly allow us to follow Tim's and Benita's knowledge development in their conversations with me. Tim, for example, restories "the healthy school" and points to a need to find a balance between "the forest and the trees." Benita does not attribute her inability to team teach with a particular teacher to personality conflicts but names conflicting images of team teaching as the source of the tension. In both these examples, Tim's and Benita's sustained conversations with me allowed us to see how Tim and Benita refined their personal practical knowledge.

The personal and the public aspects of knowledge also meet in knowledge communities. Annie and I talked about the political aspects of the hiring process with Benita and our conversation illustrates the meeting of the personal and the public in knowledge communities. Annie and I inform Benita of "the game," a kind of public discourse to which Benita replies: "I don't know what the game is," a personal response. Knowledge communities have the potential to nurture a fruitful tension, a healthy dialectic between the personal and the public. On the other hand, knowledge communities also can create tensions by downplaying 'the personal' in favour of public discourse. Tim was aware of this latter knowledge in his "healthy school" story.

Experience is shared in knowledge communities through storying and restorying. Tim tells me "the healthy school" story embellished by other people's experiences and I give him back the story focusing on his experiences. A similar example arises with Benita, Annie, and me. Benita stories her frustrations with the hiring process and Annie gives the story back as a story of Benita's life. Annie and I again give the story back, this time focusing on Benita's ability to overcome difficulties. Through storying and restorying, meaning is negotiated in knowledge communities. Response and dialogue are central to the construction and reconstruction of knowledge as Tim and Benita shape and are shaped in their knowledge communities. In this process, they constantly return to their knowledge and renew and revise the meanings they hold for their experiences in community.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I argued for knowledge communities as important features of professional knowledge contexts. Through telling two research stories, I illustrated parts of Tim's and Benita's knowledge communities and described what I have come to know about knowledge communities embedded in Tim's and Benita's professional knowledge contexts.

The conceptualization of knowledge communities allowed me to crystallize how professional context knowledge becomes a part of beginning teachers' personal practical knowledge. The knowledge community conceptualization enabled me to illustrate how Tim's and Benita's knowledge was renewed and revised as they storied and restoried their experiences in community with particular people. Knowledge communities allowed me to present fine-grained accounts of how Tim and Benita shaped and were shaped by particular aspects of their professional knowledge contexts. The conceptualization helped me unravel some of the complexities surrounding how beginning teachers' personal practical knowledge is subtly shaped in their professional knowledge contexts.

CHAPTER VII

ENDINGS

> Writing a story...is one way of discovering *sequence* of experience. Connections slowly emerge...like distant landmarks... Experiences too indefinite of outline in themselves to be recognized in themselves connect and are identified as a larger shape. And suddenly a light is thrown back, as when your train makes a curve, showing that there has been a mountain of meaning rising behind you on the way you've come, is rising there still, proven now through retrospect. (Welty, 1984, p. 90)

Introduction

I began this inquiry with my reflections on what brought me to the research topic. I conclude with reflections on my journey. In this closing chapter, I reflectively turn on the work and make connections to my story as an educator. I offer reflections on future research possibilities, beginning teachers, teacher education programs and school systems, and knowledge communities.

Reflections on Future Reseach Possibilities

To me, the conceptualization of knowledge communities and the telling stories method both present numerous possibilities for future research. As I reflect on the knowledge communities conceptualization, I see studies which explore the knowledge communities of experienced teachers as important future work. I also see potential research topics where teacher educators and researchers inquire into their knowledge communities and the marks of those communities. I also know from my work with Tim that Victor, his principal, had multiple knowledge communities lodged within the professional knowledge context of the school system. This leads me to offer an exploration of administrators' knowledge communities as another research possibility.

Reflecting on the methodology, I am reminded of how I increased spaces for Tim's and Benita's voices and created a form to exchange and present the "telling stories." Just as I built on Clandinin's method (1986), I believe others could build on my method by finding new ways of creating conversational spaces, new ways of experimenting with form.

The conversational tone of the work increased when I was able to join Tim's staff in conversations and when Annie joined Benita and I in written and oral conversations. These interactions emerged in the process. I found they added more voices and more perspectives to the research. Given that the study had one foot in the personal and the other in the contextual, it was important for me to be aware of opportunities where I could be part of situations where Tim's and Benita's personal knowledge was situated in context. Such opportunities helped me understand Tim and Benita and enhanced my understanding of their contexts. I believe there are other latent possibilities similar to these which could be woven into studies situated in context.

Reflections on Beginning Teachers

Throughout this inquiry, I have felt compelled to lay my stories as an educator alongside Tim's and Benita's stories of experience (Clandinin & Connelly in Schön, 1991; Witherell & Noddings, 1991). As this inquiry winds down, it is fitting that I continue to interface my stories with theirs.

Tim's and Benita's stories take me back to when I was a beginning teacher making a transition from a teacher education program to a teaching position. They also pull me forward as I envision new ways I could write and live a teacher education story at a university and a teacher/beginning teacher story in a school system.

Tim's and Benita's stories offer me insights into my own stories; new ways of interpreting my experiences (Bateson, 1989). I am now able to think about my beginning teaching experiences and my experiences of working with beginning teachers from fresh vantage points. My experience of beginning teaching is now marked by what I have come to see in Tim's and Benita's stories (Heilbrun, 1988). I return to my own stories of experience with new clarity; my horizons of knowing have shifted (Clandinin & Connelly, forthcoming; Greene, 1978).

Tim's and Benita's storied accounts of their teaching experiences remind me of the questions and wonders I also had as a beginning teacher. I vividly recall how confused I was as I made my transition from student teaching in an average school in one province to teaching in a high needs school in another. Tim's and Benita's telling stories remind me of the "aloneness" (in the Sarton, 1984, sense) I often felt as a beginning teacher. I initially had no one with whom I could talk, no one with whom I could personally and professionally connect. As I look back, I remember Carla, a teacher who, like Dolores in Tim's stories, helped me come to know school stories. I also remember Connie, a teacher similar to Joan in Benita's stories, whose image of teaching conflicted with my own.

Seeing the plots Tim, Benita, and I constructed of their stories, I can more clearly see the plots of my own stories, plots marked with uncertain edges, as I looked backward to my university experiences and foreward to my present and future school experiences. Like Tim and Benita, I experienced multiple tensions in my knowing as I straddled the places where I had been cultivated. Like Tim, I tried to balance conflicts in my knowledge. I initially was more inclined to smooth things over than voice my opinions. And like the Velveteen Rabbit who informs Benita's image of "real" teaching, I was hurt. The feedback that I was "too ivory-towerish" in one professional knowledge context and "too practical" in the other stung me. But, like the Velveteen Rabbit and Benita, I remember the Skin Horse's sage advice: "When you are Real you don't mind being hurt" (Williams, 1981, p. 14).

As I reflected on straddling the uncertain edges like Tim and Benita, I saw my stories of experience in their stories of experience. Tim's and Benita's collections tugged at particular threads in my storied life (Peshkin, 1988). Most poignantly, their stories reminded me of how desirous I was of moving in from the uncertain edges, of learning professional context knowledge, of becoming at home in my professional knowledge context, of being accepted.

I particularly see myself in Tim's second year stories where he shifts from questioning the activities in the school to, at one point, restorying them as a given: "That's just the way things are in schools, folks!" (Interview 14, May 25, 1992, p. 1). I also have been numbed by school and school system stories, stories which have bounded my knowledge (Lane, 1988). Unlike Tim, it took me a few years before I could name them and think hard about how I could rewrite and relive them.

I also can see myself in Benita's "good teacher" story. Her frustrations with not being able to become "regular," of feeling "on the outskirts" were my feelings when I was seconded to the limited term appointment at the university. Like Benita, I tried exceedingly hard to do good work and received positive responses from my students and my immediate colleagues. However, I was naive and like Benita, I did not know "the game." In the absence of knowing the political aspects of the context, I played the "believing game." I did not know the "doubting game" was the discourse of the academy (Elbow, 1973, 1986).

In my first year of teaching, there were other ways I felt like both Tim and Benita. I could tell my stories in response to Tim's stories because I taught 70% of my time in one school. Like Tim, I was fortunate to have a "home" school, a school where I could anchor my experiences (Lane, 1988). I could also tell my stories in response to Benita's stories because I substitute taught the remaining

30% of my time. Like Benita, I experienced the striking contrast between having a school "home" where I was known and respected and being a substitute, one who is unknown and "out of place" (Lane, 1988). Like Benita, I have been a "stranger" (Schutz, 1970) in numerous professional knowledge contexts both as a beginning teacher and as a consultant.

I understand from my experiences and my knowledge of Tim's and Benita's experiences how vulnerable beginning teachers are. I particularly remember my desire to be accepted and how that made it easier for me to be shaped. I also remember how the scarcity of teaching positions compounded the situation for me as it did for Tim and Benita. Retrospectively, I see how particularly willing I was to please. I was not as aware as Tim and Benita were that I could shape situations. We were cultivated in different professional knowledge contexts which bore the imprints of different times and places (Crites, 1971).

As I connect my stories to Tim's and Benita's stories and contemplate my future in a school system/university context, I am reminded of how exceedingly mindful I need to be of who others are in my knowledge constructions and reconstructions and who I am in theirs (Wells, 1986). Thinking about professional knowledge contexts using a concept of knowledge community has awakened me to how deeply we affect each other's knowing. I feel a moral imperative, an urgency to convince others of our need to be particularly thoughtful and intentional about the kinds of transitions beginning teachers make on their educational journeys between universities and school systems.

Reflections on Teacher Education Programs and School Systems

My work with Tim and Benita has prompted me to create new plotlines; new ways of constructing my life as an educator (Bateson, 1989). Rather than accepting the uncertain edges between school systems and universities as givens, I would like to contribute to a restoried, collaborative relationship between the institutions. I clearly see that institutions themselves can not collaborate---only people within them can. As an individual attempting to live a story of collaboration, I am willing to reach out in the spirit of collaboration with full recognition that only through personal and institutional restoryings of the theory-practice split can we turn what has been a barrier into a bridge. Thinking about theory and practice through the bridge, rather than the barrier, metaphor enables me to focus on possibilities, rather than on handicaps, in the theory-practice relationship (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). The bridge metaphor offers "the certainty of meeting" (Buber in Connelly and Clandinin, forthcoming); it offers a "middle ground" (Carr, 1986) where people can negotiate narrative texts to live by.

I purposefully combine my reflections on teacher education programs and school systems. My personal story, coupled with my experience of working with Tim and Benita, strongly reinforces my belief in the continuity of experience (Dewey, 1938) and of teacher education as on a continuum. To me, the responsibility for the preparation of beginning teachers lies neither with universities nor with school systems but with people within both institutions collaboratively working together. Both institutions form the professional knowledge contexts within which teachers' personal practical knowledge is interfaced with professional context knowledge. Both should be "homes" to prospective and practising teachers. Working in concert with each other, I believe school systems and universities can enhance the educative experiences of beginning teachers; working independently and sometimes in opposition to each other, each can undo the careful cultivation of the other. As I look to the future, I would like to explore possibilities of how schools and universities could collaborate in the preparation of prospective teachers, in transitions between the institutions and in ongoing teacher development. My reflections centre on the restorying of institutional narratives with the understanding that my personal story as an educator is nested within these larger narratives (Crites, 1971).

One possibility I offer for bridging the gap between theory and practice is for universities and school systems to work closely together in all years of the teacher education program. Teacher education programs offer personal professional growth opportunities, not only to prospective teachers, but to school and university teachers alike. Everyone leaves the experience with new stories to tell. Such collaborations would help break down the theory/university, practice/school barriers I have experienced in both institutions. My knowledge of Benita's educational journey particularly supports this notion. Benita returned to university for her fourth year program while Tim became a teacher after his year in the Alternative Program. Benita felt "cut off" from students and had difficulty visualizing herself as the teacher she felt she had been during practicum. I believe that sustained contact with students, teachers, and schools in conjunction with her fourth year courses would have reduced Benita's feelings of alienation.

Furthermore, I believe if the education of prospective teachers occurred in schools and in the university, the physical lines between theory and practice would be broken. Like Clandinin et al. (1992), I see possibilities for teachers sharing their knowledge at the university and professors sharing their knowledge in schools. This interpenetration would further collapse theory-practice deliniations. Working together, I imagine university professors and school teachers embracing new ways of mingling their inherited stories, fresh ways of living their stories as educators learning together. I see the repositioning of individuals within the educational enterprise as a way to improve the professional knowledge contexts within which beginning teachers develop.

I believe a reflexive relationship between schools and the university could be cultivated in both institutions. The practicum experience is only one aspect of it. I imagine that education students might come to know teachers who work "against the grain" (Cochran-Smith, 1991) over the course of their teacher education program. These sustained associations would offer student teachers authentic insights into the dilemmas of teaching (Lyons, 1990). As I look back, this is what I was trying to do in the Social Studies methods courses. I was connecting education students with practicing teachers and creating spaces (Miller, 1991) for everyone's personal professional development, my own included. In practicum, I believe it would be an ideal for teachers and student teachers to choose one another. My understanding of collaboration cautions me that the context for collaboration can be built but collaboration itself can not be mandated for it emerges in relationships. I favour an extended practicum which Tim and Benita both experienced. A lengthy practicum offers time for individuals to become connected, time for them to have sustained conversations about educational practice, time for knowledge communities to form. I believe Benita and Annie's relationship and the kinds of topics they pursued in their conversations illustrates the immediate and residual benefits of an extended practicum experience.

When prospective and beginning teachers enter school systems, I think great care needs to be taken as to the sites where they are placed, the situations where they work and with whom they are working. Knowing what we do about the inevitability of the shaping process and how potentially potent it can be, we need to be especially mindful about who is cultivating beginning teachers, both at the university and in schools.

Like Noddings (1984), I favour beginning teacher placements in team teaching situations with experienced teachers who have expressed interests in teacher development and reflective practices. This arrangement would not be a cost item for school systems and would introduce beginning teachers to school systems with a potential knowledge community in place.

Another "support system" Tim suggested and with which I agree would be the formation of small groups of beginning teachers to reflect on their first year practices. I imagine these groups could be jointly organized by the university and by the school system. This is another way I see possibilities for a collaborative context to be built with potential knowledge communities in place. Within this immediate circle of collaboration, I envision a second order collaboration taking place as representatives of school systems and universities focus on what beginning teachers have to say about their experiences and join in "collaborative conversations on the ridge" (Connelly & Clandinin, forthcoming, using Buber's notion of a ridge). I offer these reflections as starting points in addressing some of the confusion, isolation and alienation in my story and other people's stories of beginning teaching.

Behind these reflections I offer a host of other ideas, some having to do with the programs offered in institutions; others having to do with the importance given to such programs and to the people who are faithful to them. I begin with my second thought. In my experience, I know how taken-for-granted and undervalued teacher educators are in school systems and universities (Lanier & Little, 1986). I believe individuals who work collaboratively in the service of beginning teachers should be recognized and their contributions brought to the forefront. This would heighten the importance of collaborative projects and teacher education programs.

I can imagine several other ways attention could be directed toward teacher education. One way is through the creation of more teacher centres like the Centre for Research for Teacher Education and Development at the University of

Alberta and the Joint Centre for Teacher Development (OISE and the University of Toronto) in Toronto. These centres do many things; the most important, in my experience, is how they bring together educators in universities and school systems as a shared community of learners. I see possibilities for these centres to be homeplaces for teachers in schools and universities, bridging the "communicative gaps" between theory and practice (Florio-Ruane, 1986). I see teacher centres as fertile grounds within which multiple knowledge communities could be formed.

Associated with these teacher centres, I imagine educators from schools and universities working on joint projects for a short term basis then returning to their respective placements. I also see joint appointments and fluid movement between the institutions. To me, such collaborative efforts enhance the place of teacher education in both institutions and increase the community's understanding of collaboration.

I also can envision universities and school systems cooperating and developing a Master's Degree Program and a diploma with a Teacher Development specialty. I see such programs forging strong links between educators in both institutions and connecting people whose interests are in the development of teacher knowledge. I imagine a Teacher Development specialty as focussing on the personal professional growth of oneself and others. A teacher development program, to me, would recognize each teacher as authoring his/her own teaching stories. Through willing, not expected, collaboration, educators can powerfully merge their stories with those of other educators in collaboration and in community. This focus could build a group of people who are interested in teacher development who, in turn, could thoughtfully shape the situations within which beginning teachers work.

I see merit in teacher education programs which focus on reflection and have narrative text at their cores. In my work with Tim and Benita, I experienced how the Alternative Program had shaped their knowledge. The program profoundly affected Tim and Benita; they repeatedly named it in their practical actions. I believe Tim and Benita were cultivated to be inquirers into their practices and continued their inquiries as they made their knowledge visible in their telling stories and responses. The reflective approach to Tim's and Benita's teacher preparation program or to this research did not provide any of us with certain answers; rather it encouraged us to story and restory our experiences to find the answers among and within ourselves (Clandinin & Connelly, forthcoming). Reflective practices moved us from the "doing" of teaching and the "doing" of research to the discovery of deeper meanings couched in our practices (Lyons, 1992). As we returned to topics again and again, we returned with new insights as meanings we held became "transfigured" (Dewey, 1934) and our knowledge of ourselves became sharpened.

My conceptualization of knowledge communities lodged within professional knowledge contexts offers me a fresh way to restory and relive the theory-practice relationship. I can now see knowledge communities as the bridges within and between the professional knowledge contexts where teachers are cultivated. I also see knowledge communities as shaping and being shaped in context. The notion of knowledge communities enables me to transcend the binary opposites in the theory-practice split. Theory-practice separations are no longer useful to me as I story possibilities in the future.

As I again make a transition between professional knowledge contexts, I do so in a much more informed way. I no longer will take-for-granted the experiential commonplaces I share with my colleagues. I will consciously focus on these commonplaces for I know from my work with Tim and Benita that the profound can be met in the most ordinary of situations (Lane, 1988). I also know that working closely with my colleagues enables us to shape the fabric of our professional knowledge contexts collaboratively.

Looking back on the research process, I see how the metaphors "experience is text" and "research is conversation" have enlarged my knowledge. Both were porous, breathing metaphors to live by (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) which formed and informed the backdrop which lead to the conceptualization of knowledge communities. On a more personal level, living the metaphors taught me much about how I can be with others, as I was with Tim and Benita, in community. The experience has shaped my knowledge of how I can dwell in meaning with others as we participate in "conversations on the ridge."

In this study, we (Tim and I or Benita and I) have engaged in many "conversations on the ridge." We have carved safe places; we have made "clearings" (Miller, 1991). As we bring this research study to closure, I leave with an ethical dilemma. I know that any given moment in my relationship with Tim or with Benita has a past-present-future dimension to it. Looking to the future, I know our relationships cannot be marked by the same constancy, immediacy, and intensity as our relationships have been marked in the past and the present. We no longer will have our shared commitment to understanding beginning teaching to bind us together. While I feel confident we will find new ways to interlock our narratives (McIntyre, 1984), I wonder what will happen to Tim and Benita as a result of their participation in the research? As our relationships become marked in new ways and my old story fades as it becomes restoried, will they find others to take the place I left in their stories? Will they continue to have "conversations on the ridge" in the new knowledge communities they develop?

Reflections on Knowledge Communities

In this work, I have implicitly said much about my work with Tim and Benita and explicitly named myself as one of their knowledge communities. I will now "reflectively turn" (Schön, 1991) and discuss Tim and Benita as my knowledge communities.

First, I will tell a story about Tim as one of my knowledge communities. There is a phrase Tim often used in our conversations which repeatedly signalled to me that he was going to say something profound. Frequently, Tim would be discussing something topical when an unrelated reflection would cross his mind. He would pause and say: "I don't know whether this thought would be helpful or useful to you or whether it makes sense, Cheryl, but..." And whatever he said after that introductory phrase offered me deep insights into whatever it was I was trying to figure out or whatever it was I should be trying to figure out. Tim casually introduced me to "the healthy school" story this way (May 30, 1991); a story he unpacked over the summer months and a research story I restoried in this work. Tim freely to responded to my stories and my interpretations and was patient with me as I encouraged him to restory his experiences as I tried to make sense of them. Given Tim's self-described treadmill, I always felt he gave me his undivided attention. I particularly appreciated how Tim shared his classroom, his staff, and his students with me in our knowledge community. I was also able to form many knowledge communities in his professional knowledge context as a result of the special relationship we had.

And a story about Benita as one of my knowledge communities. Benita was always speedy at providing responses and desirous of receiving speedy responses. Her spirited interest in the work compelled and propelled me to work that extra bit harder to avoid dampening her enthusiasm. Through my relationship with Benita, I was also able to join Annie and Benita in their knowledge community. Benita was always extremely supportive of me. She continually told me I would soon be finished, a point she storied and restoried with me. Benita often expressed more faith in me than I had in myself! In my special relationship with Benita, I found myself watching for writings in the margins both in her responses to the telling stories and in her journal. I implicitly knew that when Benita was writing on the edges of the pages she was "spilling out her soul" and that I would learn much about her story and my story as I read what she had written.

My relationships with Tim and Benita constantly reminded me of who I am in others' teaching stories and who others, particularly Tim and Benita, are in my story. I have learned so much about teaching, teachers, schools, students, and myself as Tim and Benita shared their knowledge with me. I leave the research study with two important knowledge communities intact---two knowledge communities whose texts will be restoried and relived. I leave feeling extremely priviledged by my association with Tim and Benita. I am thankful for how they have contributed to my life.

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